



THE

AMERICAN COLLEGES
AND UNIVERSITIES
IN THE GREAT WAR

CHARLES F. THWING

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THE GREAT WAR
1914—1919

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the Great War: a History

THE AMERICAN COLLEGES
AND UNIVERSITIES IN
THE GREAT WAR
1914-1919

A HISTORY

BY

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President of Western Reserve University

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TO
FRANCIS WENDELL BUTLER-THWING,
ANDOVER, HARVARD, AND
NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD
CAPTAIN, COLDSTREAM GUARDS

PREFATORY NOTE

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2.25
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The lack of adequate interpretation of the part which the American colleges, both Northern and Southern, played in the Civil War has long seemed to me a public and an academic misfortune. The possibility of filling this lack lessens with each passing year. The share which the American college and university had in the World's War was at least as significant and impressive as that which the Civil War represents. Early, therefore, in the great struggle, I began to collect materials for its academic history. These materials include evidences furnished directly by hundreds of institutions, as well as the more typical sources of books, pamphlets, and newspapers. To each college officer, who has thus graciously and generously aided me, I am grateful.

This history, concerned with a small social and educational group, has yet largest relations. For it helps to prove that the higher education, in the person of its teachers and students of successive generations, trains men for the service of the nation. While higher education may in certain respects be justly charged with narrowness, it yet, be it affirmed, uses

Prefatory Note

its narrowness for an increase of all human forces and for a worthy bettering of all that makes for the welfare of men. I trust that, from the reading of these pages, one may come, as I come from their writing, with a lordlier hope for the race and for the races.

C. F. T.

Western Reserve University,
Cleveland,
1st January, 1920.

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THE AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE GREAT WAR

I

MOTIVES FOR ENTERING THE SERVICE

The conditions belonging to the college man create the motives inspiring him to enter his country's service in time of war.

Of these conditions perhaps the most obvious is the college man's age. He is, on entering as a freshman, about eighteen years old. This age and the following four years form the close of the period of his emotional, and the beginning of his mature intellectual, growth. The feelings are strong, easily stirred, readily moving toward the great, the sublime, the commanding. With emotionalism is associated the faculty of imagination. This youth thinks in pictures. If the developing and enriched intellect furnishes material and content of these pictures, the feelings move the hand of imagination to paint them in brightly glowing colors. The sense of adventure

fascinates. The possibilities which the adventure holds forth stir the soul. The glory of the adventure, even if it be touched with the probability of death, beckons. The highest ambition of this manly youth — human liberation — gets hold of every part of his being. I can — I will — I must — he cries. Of course, to a certain extent, such feelings and imaginations belong to every young man. Enrollment in the army or navy by the student is only a part of the heroism of youth. But such feelings do at least seem to rise to a higher level, to a whiter crest, and to assume more brilliant coloring, on the brow and in the bosom of the college man.

Another condition belonging to the student is his sense of democracy. He is a member of a little group in which equals moving with equals represent the common lot. These men are a part of the great third estate. They are as pebbles flung together on the same beach by the hand of destiny to be rounded and polished by the same forces. The differences which divide men outside academic walls have a certain value; but the value is much smaller than ordinary humanity assigns. Wealth, social distinction, heritage of a noble name, militate quite as much against as for the student's timely advantage. The group as seen in a fraternity house represents the *par inter pares*. The floor of the classroom is built on one

level, and that floor has only a few square feet. The college chapel, the table in the reading room, the benches in the chemical, and the physical, laboratory represent a community and an equality of interest. The gridiron and diamond stand for brotherhood and coöperation. These forces, outwardly and materially visible, are only the sign of the inward forces which unite. [College men think together, even if not alike. They are moved by similar ambitions and stirred by like motives and ideals, even if the consummate achievement be not alike. A thousand or a hundred hearts beat as one. Therefore, a wave of patriotism touches segregated and separated individualities, and combines them into unities. One bugle call is heard by a thousand ears; one flag is seen by a thousand eyes. As Oliver Wendell Holmes said at a commencement of his Alma Mater, in the midst of the Civil War in 1863,—“ The hero in his laurels sits next to the divine rustling in the dry garland of his Doctorate. The poet in his crown of bays, the critic, in his wreath of ivy, clasp each other’s hands, members of the same happy family. This is the birthday feast for every one of us whose forehead has been sprinkled from the font inscribed *Christo et Ecclesiae*. We have no badges but our diplomas, no distinctions but our years of graduation. This is the Republic carried into the Univer-

sity; all of us are born equal into this great fraternity." ¹ The response, the reaction, the patriotic stimulus, work on the feeling of each and of every other man, reënforcing, increasing, magnifying, developing it. Excitement begets excitement. Thrill stirs thrill. Each man goes where others go, and the others go where each goes. The democracy of the group promotes the martial enrollment. J

This essential quality of democracy seems not to have suffered under the conditions of the modern college. The college of the early and middle decades of the Nineteenth Century was a college of peculiarly united interests. Students of the same class studied the same subjects. Year by year, the progress was regular and general. The two ancient languages, mathematics, with certain excursions, more or less brief, into English, philosophy, the modern languages, science, and history, formed the foundation of the orderly academic structure. With a few minor exceptions, each student did what the other did. Of the modern college, however, diversity, separateness, individualism, is the distinctive mark. Students of the same class are divided by many and diverse interests. Members of different classes are usually joined together in the same subjects of

¹ Address before the Association of the Alumni of Harvard College, 16th July, 1863.

study. The elective system stands for individuality of choice. Each man pursues his own will under the general supervision of college officers. Yet, despite these individualisms, the college spirit is still one, the college atmosphere one, and the general aim one. The democratic movement and condition of equality is still regnant.

[The democracy of war and the democracy of education are impressively alike. For war makes equals. War promotes equality between men of the same grade or kind. If it create differences and distinctions between different grades of service, it yet makes men of the same order equal. All privates in the ranks are alike. Exterior distinctions are lost. The titled are as obscure as the obscure; the obscure as distinguished as the titled. The poor are as rich as the rich and the rich are as poor as the poor. A boy of distinguished ancestry and education, brought up in peculiarly exclusive surroundings, was serving at the front as a private. In a letter to his mother he told about two of his special chums. One of them was Erine O'Callahan and the other Billie Sweeny. He wrote to his mother — "You can't beat those boys on the face of the earth. I want you to call upon their mothers." Education is likewise democratic — a common obedience for all men, themselves personally equal or unequal, and

a common opportunity. It has been said that in Germany there were no equals — only superiors or inferiors. In America one might, with equal truth, say, there are only equals. America holds open one educational gateway. It paves one road to learning, and that not royal. It points out one goal which it inspires each to reach. Autocracy in education is narrow and narrowing, inclined to accept social stratification. Democracy in education is broad, as broad as human nature. Autocracy in education is prone to being materialistic. Democracy is idealistic. Aristocracy in education is liable to forget humanity's hard, complex problems. Democracy in education is sympathizing and inspiring of every worthy endeavor.

A further motive for enrollment, and also its origin, is the fundamental element of patriotism, both historical and personal. The college man loves his country for the reason which leads the mature civilian to love it, the reason found in his birth within its borders and in its beneficence to him and to his. But also the college man loves it because of a peculiar sense of possession. It is his country. He belongs to it, and it belongs to him. With this sense is often joined the sense of her peril and also the sense that she may have suffered or be in danger of suffering an insult. It is his place to retaliate on

to defend. His patriotism is rather a love of her than a movement of the will, although the heart's love proves itself in overt acts. The patriotism does show itself in the college songs and the commemoration odes of all countries.

Is there any poem of the war in which this spirit is more fully voiced than in Winifred M. Letts' "The Spires of Oxford" ?

I saw the spires of Oxford
As I was passing by,
The gray spires of Oxford
Against a pearl gray sky.
My heart was with the Oxford men
Who went abroad to die.

The years go fast in Oxford,
The golden years and gay,
The hoary Colleges look down
On careless boys at play.
But when the bugles sounded war
They put their games away.

They left the peaceful river,
The cricket field, the quad,
The shaven lawns of Oxford
To seek a bloody sod —
They gave their merry youth away
For country and for God.

God rest you, happy gentlemen,
Who laid your good lives down,

8 *Colleges and Universities in the Great War*

Who took the khaki and the gun
Instead of cap and gown.
God bring you to a fairer place
Than even Oxford town.

These lines are a confirmation of Lowell's Commemoration Ode of fifty years ago.

The motive of the college man is also manifest in what might be called interpatritism. The student loves his own country and his fellow citizens much. He loves all countries and his human brothers more. In the Great War French students fought for France and British students too fought for France. They also fought for liberty and fraternity, for all. Oxford, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh men died for England and Scotland, but they also died for ravaged Belgium and for damaged humanity. American college students enrolled and served in danger-zones long before America entered the war. They made the great sacrifice for other people than their own. As President Eliot, speaking to the Harvard men at the time of the Spanish War, said: "What are the fundamental and legitimate motives . . . which lead one to enlist? There are two which seem to me very weighty; and these two really make but one, but that one how strong! The first is the sense that every member of human society is mainly indebted for his own character, resources and happiness to the slowly

developed qualities and slowly accumulated resources of the particular society into which he was born. Society gives the individual everything which makes his life valuable to him; he, in return, owes his life and his all to society whenever its interests are imperilled. This principle applies in a tribe of savages, but with greatest force in the most civilized society.”¹ The first members of the Harvard brotherhood who were laid in their graves in France were saluted in these words: “Ce sera une date historique, cette journée d’automne où nous avons enseveli en terre de France nos amis, conduits au petit cimetière avec un piquet de soldats français et américains, les corps couverts du Star Spangled Banner et du Tricolore. Sur leur tombe, notre colonel prononça ces simples mots: ‘je vous salue, enfants d’une noble race; reposez dans cette terre de France où vous êtes tombés pour la plus belle cause!’”

There is a still more fundamental motive dwelling in the bosom of the student. It is hard to interpret this motive. It should not be called the longing for adventure. Such a motive is more or less unworthy. It may be called the sense of duty. It is rather more than an imperative. It may be called spiritual unrest, but it is more than an emotion. It is rather a yearning for life,—for life fuller, richer, more com-

¹ *Boston Herald*, May 21st, 1898.

manding, more consuming. It is a feeling that one must have experience — an experience that touches all life, even the universal and the eternal. It is the cosmic sense, urging and moving in the young soul. To this motive Alan Seeger gave voice: “Suddenly the world is up in arms. All mankind takes sides. The same faith that made him surrender himself to the impulses of normal living and of love, force him now to make himself the instrument through which a greater force works out its inscrutable ends through the impulses of terror and repulsion. And with no less a sense of moving in harmony with a universe where masses are in continual conflict and new combinations are engendered out of eternal collisions, he shoulders arms and marches forth with haste.”¹

Akin to this cosmic sense is shown the spirit of supreme sacrifice and of moral passion, which belongs to all youth, but belongs especially to the student. This sense of sacrifice and of passion has been peculiarly significant in this war. The breaking and crushing of the morals and the morale of life by Germany awakened the keenest indignation in the soldier student. He did not count the cost. He felt somewhat as Pascal says of Jesus Christ on the cross: “I must add my wounds to his.” The

¹ Letter: *The New Republic*, 22nd May, 1915.

crusader is the youth, and he rejoices to venture all.

“For my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the Western Stars, until I die.”

In deep contrast to such a worthy motive, two more and very personal conditions emerge. The student is free from domestic responsibility and from vocational engagements. Neither wife nor child looks to him for daily bread. Neither professional duty nor industrial nor commercial service commands him. He is foot-free. Indeed, he is inclined to believe that a military training may prove to be a very acceptable preparation for the business which he finally may choose.

In all these motives and conditions, too, one further great movement is evident. It may be called — the instinct of the spiritual in man. It is the impulse to rescue, to help, to serve. It is a fundamental feeling. It is found in every worthy bosom. It constitutes the gentleman. It is not a matter of or for argument, not a balancing of advantages and disadvantages. It may not be even a part of that great Anglo-Saxon service, which we denominate duty. Why did you enlist? — Why shouldn't I enlist? — is the questioning answer — One cannot do other. Such feelings are instinctive in all good men, but

are especially instinctive in the bosom of the college man.

For as an Oxford don says: "The beauty of life lies not in living, nor in health and vigor of body, nor in the flash and speed of the mind, but in living with a noble energy, which enlists and mobilizes the noble nature for the doing of noble things. To rise to the measure of a man and to attain to the just beauty of a full humanity consists in gaining conversion of the soul and in entering the service of mankind. He who has turned his eyes to an ideal good which is more worth while than life itself has found life; for he has become a living soul, converted to the light. He who has entered the service of mankind in order to realize among men and for men the ideal good which he has seen has entered into the only perfect joy of living; for he has hid his life with that of his fellows in the common life which is the only true life of man."¹

In all these lifting and moving sentiments there were present two other feelings deserving recognition. Students were inclined to depreciate their own place and function. They did not wish to be "made much of." They despised eulogy. They couldn't bear laudation, as if their acts were unusual. They

¹ "Mothers and Sons in War Time," by Ernest Barker, pages 4, 5.

had wit and humor to realize their conditions. In serious hours too they thought of being afraid of death as death. They did have a questioning whether when the crisis of a great command might be heard, they would prove true. It was the quickening question that belongs to a gentleman. It was inevitable. The answer, too, was equally inevitable. They met their supreme ordeal without flinching. They died with a cheer.

American college men, students and graduates, moreover, have entered every war which their country has fought. Such enrollment belongs to every nation. Tablets are placed on the walls of the universities of Germany, giving the names of their sons who fell in the War of 1870. Tablets are also set up in the universities of Italy, commemorating the students who fought two generations ago for their once sadly divided, now nobly united, land. The spirit which is felt and the words which are heard in American colleges in the World War, were also manifest in the Civil War of the United, and the Confederate, States. The passion of all college youth for native land and for man seems to be one — lasting as life, broad as the world, deep as the deepest human instincts and emotions, indivisible as humanity itself.

II

BEFORE THE ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES

Under the spell of such motives, college men, both graduate and undergraduate, entered and served in the war. Their service began at the very beginning. The kind of service, offered from August and September of 1914 up to the month of April, 1917, was, of course, in many respects unlike that given after the entrance of the United States. The earlier service was manifestly far less important and far less general. It was, however, of diverse sorts, and also it took on many elements of the picturesque as well as of the heroic.

The kinds of particular service were no less than five in number. These five were the American Volunteer Motor Ambulance Corps, the American Ambulance Hospital in Paris, Hospital Units outside of Paris like that of or for Serbia, the American Distributing Service, and, most picturesque of all, the Foreign Legion. There were, in addition, not a few services of miscellaneous, and even individualistic, character. The United States embassies, aiding

American citizens' relief committees, serving in canteens, giving help in relief work in Belgium and France, represent the more important of such miscellaneous and individual work.

The American Volunteer Motor Ambulance Corps was formed and directed by Richard Norton, son of Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard. The work of this Corps, as described by Norton himself, in February, 1916, was of three sorts. One was what he calls the risky and very hard work done during a battle, in rescuing the wounded and bearing them back to stations where surgical attention could be given. There was, also, what Norton calls, "Our regular job": "the post duty, the daily going and coming from certain stations just back of the line to the hospitals with the occasional casualties. During the winter months one carries more sick and sorry than one does wounded, but there is a never-ending trickle of these latter. . . . We sat down for the winter, and posts were arranged to which the wounded are brought. Just who picks out these posts I have never discovered, but the general rule is that they should be as near the actual fighting line as the condition of the roads and general safety permit the cars to go. We have served two such posts. One was all right, though, owing to the mud which prevented the close approach of our cars, the stretcher

bearers had a weary long walk with their painful burden. The other, however, was to my mind most quaintly placed, as it was on the crest of a ridge and in plain view of the enemy. Though the doctors' tents and dug-outs were sheltered by a cluster of pines, the coming and going of the cars were perfectly obvious and daily drew the fire of one of the enemy batteries. . . . At both posts the men did duty for twenty-four hours at a stretch, and had tents pitched under the trees in which they cooked their picnic meals and took what rest they could. Most of the time it rained, and it was always cold. To my way of thinking a tent is a beastly thing. A considerable portion of my life has been passed in them, and no one can convince me they are anything but disgusting. . . . However, they are better than sitting in the mud, so at the posts we sit and get damp till the relief comes, and then hustle back to the base camp, where there are no satisfactory means of getting dry, but where you mop yourself up and steam over any form of fire you or your friends can produce. You see, there is not much in that kind of life but plain, hard, uncomfortable work. So any one who thinks he is coming out here to wander over the stricken field doing the Sir Philip Sidney act to friend and foe alike, protected from harm by the mystical light of heroism playing about his hyacinthine

locks, had better stay home. This hero business will only win him the Order of the Wooden Cross. What one really does is to look like a tramp who has passed the night in a ditch and feels as though he were doing ten days 'hard' for it. That is what the ordinary work is."¹

There is a third kind of work of the Motor Ambulance Corps which Mr. Norton calls "*en repos*."

"No corps can go on indefinitely at the front. The men get worn out and the cars get out of order. During the early part of this winter our cars stood in the open where the mud was so bad that we often had to pull them out in the morning with the lorry before we could start. There was so little water that sometimes there was insufficient for the radiators. Under such circumstances cleaning the cars was entirely out of the question, and any but absolutely essential repairs had to wait till we could move somewhere else. When, finally, we were relieved by a French convoy, only one-third of our cars could go, and several of the men were working on their nerve."¹

The second general form of service lay in what was known as the American Ambulance, or Amer-

¹ "The Harvard Volunteers in Europe," by Howe, pages 193-196.

² *Ibid.*, pages 196-197.

iean Hospital, in Paris. The opportunity for medical service in Paris was opened in the spring of 1915. The first medical unit to be represented was that of Western Reserve University and of its affiliated hospital, Lakeside, which served from January to April. The Harvard Medical School provided a surgical unit, also, for three months of this year.

Outside and beyond the most outstanding surgical service of Paris was the service rendered in Servia in the first year of the war. This contribution, given under the American Red Cross Sanitary Commission, and under the leadership of Doctor Richard P. Strong, Professor of Tropical Medicine in the Harvard Medical School, was of the utmost significance. Soon after his arrival, in April, Doctor Strong organized an International Health Commission in order to promote the enforcement of medical and surgical orders in all parts of Servia, and also to coördinate the work of the British, the French, the Russians, the Americans, as well as of the Servians, in promoting the health of the people. In this work were engaged public health physicians, sanitary engineers, sanitary inspectors, and laboratory experts of various types. To stamp out contagious diseases, and especially typhus fever, was the great purpose of the Commission, and this purpose was fulfilled with extraordinary efficiency.

Another form of work in which the college men had a primary part, and which has received little mention, is the American Distributing Service. Under this general union, many sorts of work were done and under different organizations. Perhaps the chief part of its work was in giving instant relief to the most obvious necessities of French hospitals. Supplies were gathered up, some coming from America, and delivered at the hospitals according to their need. Sorting out and delivering hospital socks and slippers, bales of underclothes, bolts of cloth, surgical instruments, represent types of the diversity of the work. In the month of August of the year 1915, more than forty-four thousand articles were given out, which included material for operating rooms, as surgical instruments, sterilizing apparatus, bandages and linen. The hospitals thus helped numbered more than seven hundred.

But perhaps the most picturesque, as certainly the best known of all these forms of service, lay in the Foreign Legion of the French Army. It was a most democratic organization. A member has written of it, saying:—

“Many of the men are educated, and the very lowest is of the high-class workman type. In my room, for instance, there are ‘Le Petit Pere U——,’ an old Alsatian, who has already served fourteen years

in the Legion in China and Morocco; the Corporal L——, a Socialist well-known in his own district; E——, a Swiss cotton broker from Havre; D—— C——, a newspaper man, and short-story writer, who will not serve in the English Army because his family left England in 1745, with the exception of his father, who was captain in the Royal Irish Fusiliers; S——, a Fijian student at Oxford, 'the blond beast' (*Vide Zarathustra*); von somebody, another Dane, very small and young; B——, a Swiss carpenter, born and bred in the Alps, who sings, when given a half liter of canteen wine, far better than most comic-opera stars and who at times does the *ranz-des-vaches* so that even Petit Pere U—— claps; the brigadier M——, a little Russian, two or three Polish Jews, nondescript Belgians, Greeks, Roumanians, etc." ¹

In the Foreign Legion were found not a few college men among whom Victor Chapman, Harvard '13, and Alan Seeger, Harvard '10, stand forth in moving worthiness,—both of whom made the great sacrifice.

The number of college graduates and undergraduates who entered this quintette of services was not large. But the spirit, the enthusiasm, the devotion of those who thus enrolled themselves was of the

¹ *Ibid.*, pages 145–146.

highest and deepest character. It was a service both individual and human. It was not supported by love of America in the degree which the later service inspired. It was a service rendered out of a love for humanity and in the desire to be of individual worth. The element of camaraderie was not present as it was in the college halls of the years '17 and '18. But the sense of individual duty, privilege, devotion, rose to its highest red-crested level. The college men of America never showed themselves more heroic than in services thus rendered in the months and years previous to the first week of April of the year 1917.

As moving and inspiring a spectacle as was furnished by any set of college men is found in the Rhodes scholars who gave themselves to the service in Belgium. About four hundred Americans have availed themselves of Cecil Rhodes' foundation, since its establishment in 1902, in becoming students at Oxford. About three hundred of them entered the service. The beneficence of their presence and work in Belgium in the days of the German occupation is a part of the great contribution which was rendered under the direction and inspiration of Herbert Clark Hoover. Mr. Hoover, himself a graduate of Leland Stanford University, was, by reason of his experience, as well as because of the highest personal quali-

ties, abundantly qualified to guide and to inspire his fellow graduates of American colleges who themselves had been at Oxford. Of them the great interpreter of Belgium, in the years of its Inferno, Mr. Brand Whitlock, has said:

“ They came as volunteers, to work for no other reward than the satisfaction of helping in a great humanitarian cause. The work never could have been done without them, or half so well by men who had been paid for their labor. I suppose the world has never seen anything quite like their devotion; it used to amuse, when it did not exasperate, us, to see the Germans so mystified by it; they could not understand it, and were always trying to find out the real reason for their being there. . . . It was, in fact, as fine an example of idealism — American idealism — as, in its ultimate organization and direct management, it proved to be of American enterprise and efficiency. The young men were under the heaviest adjurations from all of us to maintain a strict neutrality, and this they all did. Not one of them was ever guilty of an indiscretion, not one of them ever brought dishonor upon the work, or upon their nation, or its flag, or upon the various universities whose honor they held in their keeping and on which they reflected such credit.” ¹

¹ “ Belgium,” by Brand Whitlock, United States Minister to Belgium, I., pages 409-410.

Men of such character, of course, would be secured under the conditions laid down by Mr. Rhodes' trustees. In the first circular issued by the trustees, it was said that they desired "as Scholars students of power and promise, and representative types of the manliness, culture, and character of the communities from which they come."¹

Such devotions, more individual than institutional, were contemporaneous with movements which were rather institutional than individualistic.

A significant development of the last and of the present generation of academic life lies in the association and coöperation of the colleges and universities. This academic development is a microcosm of what has occurred in the nations of the world. Among these educational societies are found the Association of State Universities, the Association of American Universities, the Association of American Colleges, the Association of Urban Universities, the American Association of University Professors, the Association of American Law Schools, the Association of American Medical Colleges, and the American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations.

These associations,—a list to which, long as it is, several others might fittingly be added,—created a spirit of co-working and of inter-institutional service

¹ "The Rhodes Scholarships," by Parkin, page 114.

which, in the three years preceding the American declaration of war, were devoted to the welfare of the nation and of the world. The common devotion thus secured in and through the colleges for the nation and for the nations becomes the more marked when seen in contrast with the lack of academic co-operation prevailing in the period of the Civil War. In that period each college gave richest service but gave it largely as an individual unit of society.

The various organizations and agencies, new and old, established for making the services of the colleges effective in the great war were both general and special, transient and lasting. Some of them were clearing houses of activities, while others were directly operating forces.

In point of time the first of these organizations was the Interecollegiate Intelligence Bureau. This Bureau was an agency set up for the purpose of assigning places in the government service to college men and women. With headquarters in Washington, its chief officer and, in a sense, its founder, was Dean William McClellan of the University of Pennsylvania. On its establishment in February, 1917, Secretary Baker said that the organization was "a gift to the nation, a gift of preparedness, alike for service in war and in peace." In making a report reviewing the work, Dean McClellan wrote:—"We

have spent a busy, and, we believe, a useful year in trying to fulfill our obligations and living up to our ideals. We have organized branches at about two hundred colleges, technical and agricultural schools throughout the country and city committees, composed of representative graduates, in the larger centers of the Nation. Using entirely a decentralized system and responding to the definite calls made upon them by our Division of Service Calls at our office here, these branches have had the satisfaction of knowing that about four thousand of the men and women nominated by them have been appointed to positions of responsibility in the service of the National Government. All of these positions called for highly trained specialists in professional and technical fields. Roughly speaking, about 50 per cent. of them represented commissions in the Army or Navy. Every nomination accepted and also the many nominations made in good faith which did not result in appointments, were thoroughly investigated before being sent in both by our branches and by us, and we have the satisfaction of sincerely believing that no finer body of loyal citizens can be found than the men who are now serving the country and who found their proper places through the agency of this Bureau."

The second event in the earlier academic history

was found in a conference held in Washington on May fifth of the same year of 1917. In Continental Hall on that day, about one hundred and fifty representatives of the leading colleges and universities assembled. They were called together by President Hollis Godfrey, of the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, serving as chairman of one of the committees of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. This conference, after prolonged and warm discussion, issued a statement which voiced the feeling of the college officers of that critical time. The members declared that their single thought and desire were to summon their every resource and to give the nation, without reservation, all their facilities, dedicating themselves to the supreme ideals out of which both their institutions and the nation were born. In particular they affirmed that they were willing to change courses of studies and their calendar-year in such ways as would most effectively fill the needs of the nation. They asked that plans be made and published for the closest coöperation between the government and the universities. They expressed a wish for information regarding the methods of the government in carrying on the war in order that their own forces might be the more thoroughly mobilized. They also intimated a desire to know the methods which are adopted by colleges and universities of the

allied countries in meeting the conditions of the war. This conference was of the utmost value in uniting, solidifying and energizing college sentiment respecting the seriousness of the condition and the rights and the duties of the higher institutions of learning in the prosecution of the war.

A third organization relating to the colleges bore the name of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. This organization was in its constitution in part only academic. But in it six outstanding institutions, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cornell University, Ohio State University, University of Texas, University of Illinois, and University of California, had the prevailing and controlling interest. In and through these schools were trained aviators to the number, at times, of about a thousand a month. As aviation is primarily a scientific work it was fitting that those following this art should be trained in schools of science.

A fourth item in this academic martial interpretation related to the War Department Committee on Classification of Personnel in the Army. This committee, organized largely by Professor Walter Dill Scott of Northwestern University, had for its purpose the classification of men of draft age and condition on the basis of education and other allied qualities. This body made a distinct contribution in

impressing upon the governmental authorities the value of scientific training as a military factor. In creating this factor it was made plain that the efficiency of the scientific and other schools in training graduates and undergraduates as officers, was most important.

Mention should also be made of a further educational force although this force belonged less to the higher learning than did several other agencies. It was the Federal Board for Vocational Education. This Board, originally organized under the Smith-Hughes act, was concerned largely with the training of mechanics and technicians.

The sixth agency, and one of the more important, was the American Council on Education. The American Council on Education represented some fifteen educational Associations of the United States, and was formed primarily to aid the government in meeting certain needs of the war conditions. It also served to unite these educational bodies in a common purpose and to interpret the aims and the methods of each to the other. Not only was a better understanding thus established between the Associations themselves, but the government was enabled to use efficiently an instrument which proved of invaluable service. The Associations, too, were benefited

by a leadership, the lack of which, in their relation to national work, had been keenly felt.

The purpose of the American Council on Education, or the Emergency Council on Education, is best stated in a paragraph taken from one of its own records:

“To place the educational resources of the country more completely at the service of the National Government and its departments, to the end that, through an understanding coöperation, the patriotic services of the public schools, colleges and universities may be augmented; that a continuous supply of educated men may be maintained; and greater effectiveness in meeting the educational problems arising during and following the war may be secured.”

The American Council on Education had charge of the Publicity Campaign for the Students' Army Training Corps. Directors were appointed in every state, the coöperation of all colleges, universities, public schools, and other institutions and organizations, was sought, a great amount of “literature” was issued, and a large correspondence carried on.

Because of the urgent need of nurses, at the request of the Surgeon General of the War Department, the Council took upon itself the duty of arranging for courses of twelve weeks' duration, for

the preliminary training of nurses in colleges and universities. So well did the Council succeed in this task that, at the signing of the armistice, over fifty institutions had pledged to offer such courses. A campaign, too, had been arranged to secure women of essential fitness for nursing,—ten thousand of whom the Council had promised to obtain and to have their training completed before the 1st of July, 1919.

Through its efforts scholarships for French women, scholarships for invalided French men, and for Russian soldiers were established. Over two hundred French women, under its auspices, came to the United States to enter its colleges and universities,—the college fees of whom were met by the institutions receiving them. Forty invalided French men were brought to this country under conditions similar to those obtaining in the case of the women.

The Council had charge of the visits to the United States of the British Educational Mission and of the French Educational Mission.

These facts indicate only a few of the great services given by the American Council on Education. That its work will be of vital importance in the future is assured. It already has outlined for itself a course of activities which include International Educational Relations, Educational Information and Standards,

Educational Policy and Organization, Education for Citizenship, and the Training of Women for Public Service.

The National Research Council was fittingly named as an agency of the higher military education.

It was established by the Academy of Sciences in the year 1916, as a measure of preparedness in the event of war. In 1918, the Council was taken over by the government of the United States, and, after the armistice, in the spring of 1919 it was reorganized as a permanent institution.

In an executive order of the President of the 11th of May, 1918, its work was made to have a six-fold relation: (1) the quickening of research in the sciences and in their application to the useful arts, in order to increase knowledge, to strengthen national defense, and to contribute in other ways to the public welfare; (2) the surveying of the larger possibilities of science, the forming of comprehensive projects of research, the developing of proper means for utilizing scientific and technical resources of the country in conducting these projects; (3) the promotion of co-operation in research, at home and abroad, to secure concentration of effort, and so on, but, at the same time, to encourage individual initiative as being of fundamental importance to the advancement of science; (4) to bring American and foreign investigators

into active coöperation with the scientific and technical service of the War and Navy Departments, as well as those of the civil branches of the Government; (5) to call the attention of scientific and technical investigators to the importance of military and industrial problems in connection with the war, and to the furthering of the solution of these problems by specific researches; (6) the gathering and collating of all scientific and technical information, in coöperation with Governmental and other agencies, rendering such information available to duly accredited persons.¹

Associated in the Council were representatives of national scientific and technical societies, of the United States Government, of other research organizations, and of people specially trained, and by nature fitted, to promote its plans and purposes.

The Council was and is composed of a central governing body, an Executive Board, and of thirteen divisions. These thirteen divisions were divided into two classes, Divisions of General Relations and Divisions of Science and Technology. Under the first heading were included the Government Division, the Division of Foreign Relations, the Division of

¹ Announcement of the Division of Educational Relations, The National Research Council, published at Washington, D. C., August 15, 1919.

States Relations, the Division of Educational Relations, the Division of Industrial Relations and the Research Information Service. In the Divisions of Science and Technology were the Division of Physical Science, the Division of Engineering, the Division of Chemistry and Chemical Technology, the Division of Geology and Geography, the Division of Medical Sciences, the Division of Biology and Agriculture, and the Division of Anthropology and Psychology. The men forming each division were chosen from every field of knowledge and training which fitted them for the special work.

The Division of Educational Relations made a survey of all American educational institutions and of all educational conditions in general, in America, to learn of the possibilities for scientific research, and to encourage, to inspire and to train men having the proper qualifications for this most important service. It was and is the aim of the Council to coöperate with the universities in establishing favorable conditions, and in seeking out and stimulating men to undertake scientific research.

Perhaps the most important of all these diverse agencies and institutions was the organization known as the Committee on Education and Special Training. The nature of this agency is well indicated in a letter of the Secretary of War written February 20, 1918,

and addressed to the presidents of educational institutions:—

“ The exigencies of the War have emphasized very strongly the value of the educational institutions of the nation in connection with our military effort. The schools and colleges of the country have with admirable spirit placed their resources at the disposal of the War Department and other branches of the Government. Much splendid work has already been done in training men for the Army, for example — in the Reserve Officers’ Training Corps, the Aviation Ground Schools, the Ordnance Stores courses and in the training of various kinds of specialists.

“ The desirability of having a single agency in the War Department to deal with the many problems of education and training which continually arise has been made evident. For the purpose of organizing and coördinating all of the educational resources of the country with relation to the needs of the Army, I have, therefore, appointed a new committee of the General Staff to be known as the ‘ Committee on Education and Special Training.’ A copy of the General Order naming this committee and defining its functions is enclosed. It will be the function of this committee to represent the War Department in its relations with the educational institutions of the country and to develop and standardize policies

as between the schools and colleges and the War Department.

“ The war has developed a demand for large numbers of technically trained men. Until recently this demand has been felt especially for men of advanced training. Now, however, it extends to men with elementary training, as mechanics of various kinds. In order to avoid unnecessary disturbance to essential industries through withdrawal of skilled men an effort will be made to give large numbers of men entering the service intensive elementary training along vocational lines. In the task of training these men the schools and colleges can be of the greatest assistance. It will be one of the first duties of the Committee on Education and Special Training to formulate definite plans in coöperation with schools and colleges for training these men.”

Under this order were inaugurated various methods for the training of mechanics and technicians, but in particular and more important for the present purpose was thus established what is historically the most unique development of the martial academic life — the Students' Army Training Corps. To this organization a following chapter is devoted.

In the paragraphs that have been concerned with these eight forces and agencies the writer has yet not forgotten the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. The

Reserve Officers' Training Corps was established in about one-third of all the colleges and universities. A dire need of the American Army was of properly trained officers. To the colleges the government turned for the filling of this need. Among the general principles noted in the Act of June 3, 1916 is: "It should be the aim of every educational institution to maintain one or more units of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in order that in time of national emergency there may be a sufficient number of educated men, trained in military science and tactics, to officer and lead intelligently the units of the large armies upon which the safety of the country will depend. The extent to which this object is accomplished will be the measure of the success of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps." In carrying out these principles a thorough course of training was organized which included both the theoretical and practical parts of the making of a soldier. The course of study embodied topics as remote and diverse as the international relations of America from the day of Columbus to the present day, the intimate relationship between the statesman and the soldier, and training in horsemanship and target practice. The general course was comprehensive of military education, uniting many and diverse subjects.

The education that was thus given for a period of

two years in certain colleges proved to be of great worth in the subsequent training of the camp and in the active operations of the field. Merged for a time in the Students' Army Training Corps, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps was reestablished soon after the demobilization under authority of an act of the twenty-third of November, 1918. The subsequent value in times of peace of military training in the colleges belongs to a later part of academic history.

As one considers the list of organizations founded by, for or among the colleges and universities several reflections emerge.

The first remark concerns the diversity of function rendered by these academic forces. This diversity extended from the training of officers and of privates for military, naval, and aerial service to the discovery and publication of knowledge, from the heartening of professors and students in the individual college to the mobilizing of all the forces, intellectual and administrative, athletic and social, of all colleges and universities. The second remark concerns the importance of these diverse functions in a nation which, by history, tradition, and preference, is a non-military power. It was to the men of liberal education and association that the government turned for material for counselors, for leaders and for officers. West Point and Annapolis were, of course, great re-

sources. But it was recognized that the material for officers furnished by the colleges was, in many respects, quite as adequate as that offered by these special schools. Liberal learning was again proved to be a first-rate foundation and force for technical training and for military efficiency.

It is also plain, in the third place, that the diversity of these functions and the energy thus employed sprang out of the desire and the power of the college to do its utmost for the welfare of the nation and of humanity in the great crisis. Trustees, teachers, students, recognized that the supreme and fundamental purposes of the higher education,— purposes incarnated in its own history,— were at stake. They were therefore prepared and quickened to give their all.

A fourth reflection is found in the pleasant judgment that in this variety of services, services not infrequently crossing each other in methods and means, occurred a smaller waste of force, both material and human, than would easily be believed possible. There was so much to do, so few to do the much, the time was so short, and the emergency so critical, that the temptation to waste, to jealousy, or to inefficiency, was slight. If one bureau found itself superfluous, it could easily disband or change its function, transferring to another agency its special duty. Often

the very success of a board promoted its dissolution. The history of the war could in a sense be measured by the making and the unmaking of the forces which had accomplished their individual tasks.

III

FINANCIAL RELATIONS OF THE COLLEGES

Throughout the academic year of 1916-17, the colleges and universities were in a condition of uncertainty. The world crisis betokened a crisis academic. This uncertainty and critical condition showed itself in manifold forms. No form was more insistent, or more alarming, than that relating to income and to the number of students attending as a basis of income. The picture which the academic authorities were obliged to present to themselves in the year 1916-17 regarding finance was of extreme significance. The picture was composed of both fact and inference, of general truth and of its immediate application.

The colleges and universities of the United States possess several sources of income. One of the more natural and normal is found in the fees paid by the students for instruction. One source, also natural and normal, is the income from endowment — endowment which is the result of gift or of bequest, and is invested usually in good bonds and first-rate stocks.

In certain institutions the endowment is invested at least in part in revenue-producing real estate.

In addition to these three sources, certain institutions receive special grants or gifts. The State universities are the beneficiaries of their respective Commonwealths and are largely supported by grants made, annually or biennially, by special act or general statutes by the Legislature. Certain municipal universities, likewise, are the beneficiaries of the tax-duplicate of their respective cities. Some denominational colleges are the recipients, too, of donations from the churches of which they are a part, more or less integral. It is also further to be noted that practically all institutions find in their trustees and other friends benefactors who, with a certain degree of regularity, and usually with great generosity, give to the support of the educational trust to which they are committed.

But, omitting the State universities, it is to be said that the two first-named sources, fees and income from endowment, are the principal reservoirs whence flow the support of the typical American college and university. These two sources are, at the present time, about equal in amount, and it is not a little remarkable how nearly equal these two amounts have maintained themselves in the last four or five decades, a period which covers the time in which insti-

tutions of the higher learning have made the furthest and most rapid progress.

In the year 1876, 49 per cent. of the income of our colleges was derived from fees paid by the students, and 51 per cent. from the revenue of the endowment. Twenty years after, in 1896, the proportion paid by the students had risen to 60 per cent., and that provided by capital had fallen to 40 per cent. In the year 1916 the proportion had so moved up and moved down that it had reached almost the middle point between the extremes of 1876 and 1896, 55 per cent. being paid by students and 45 per cent. being drawn from the income of endowment.

The steadiness of these proportions seems to be all the more remarkable when one recalls the vast increase of these two items. For in 1876 the income from productive funds was \$2,060,182 and the income from fees was \$1,984,811. In 1896 the income from productive funds had become \$6,191,204 and the income paid by the students \$9,585,772. But in 1916 the income from productive funds had lifted itself to \$18,246,427 and the income from students to the stupendous sum of \$23,603,919. In forty years the increase in the gross amounts had, in the case of endowment, been multiplied ninefold and in the case of fees about twelvefold, and yet the proportional percentage had remained pretty steady.

It is interesting, moreover, to note and to compare the different amounts received by colleges in the different parts of the United States from students and from the annual endowment income. In the report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1916, in the North Atlantic States about 58 per cent. of the income was derived from students' fees and about 42 from the income of endowment. In the South Atlantic States about 66 per cent. of the income was derived from students' payments and 34 per cent. from the income of endowment. In the Southern Central States about 42 per cent. was derived from the fees paid by students and about 58 per cent. from the income of endowment; and in the Western States 45 per cent. was derived from the fees paid by students and about 55 from the income of endowment.

The facts regarding a few representative colleges and universities regarding the proportional amount of income drawn from students and from endowment become yet more interesting as the facts become more definite. In the year 1916 Harvard University drew \$859,819 from the fees of students and \$1,374,677 from the income of endowment; Yale University, \$557,941 from the fees of students and \$827,254 from the income of endowment; Stanford University, \$98,273 from the fees of students and \$836,527 from the income of endowment; the University of

Chicago, \$708,175 from the fees of students and \$1,094,254 from the income of endowment; Princeton, \$221,220 from the fees of students and \$267,643 from the income of endowment; Columbia, \$987,559 from the fees of students and \$1,255,619 from the income of endowment; Johns Hopkins University, \$125,477 from the fees of students and \$322,516 from endowment; Amherst, \$59,957 from the fees of students and \$139,982 from the income of endowment; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, \$429,963 from the fees of students and \$101,280 from the income of endowment; Williams College, \$95,918 from the fees of students and \$83,156 from the income of endowment; Cornell University drew \$622,575 from the fees of students and \$675,347 from the income of endowment.

In a preceding paragraph I deferred the consideration of the State universities in respect to their sources of income. For these universities form a class. They are supported out of the public chest. They are an integral part of the system of public education of each Commonwealth. The amounts drawn from the fees of their students and from the income of their endowments are usually relatively small. The larger share of the revenue lies in grants made from the public exchequer. The sums thus derived form pleasant and inspiring reading. In the

year 1916-17 the University of California received from students the sum of \$292,102 and from the State of California for current expenses \$1,339,999; the University of Illinois, from students \$236,150 and from the State \$1,636,500; the University of Indiana, from students \$41,000 and from the State \$534,000; the University of Iowa, from students \$80,498 and from the State \$519,700; the University of Kansas, from students \$99,917 and from the State \$560,500; the University of Michigan, from students the large sum of \$457,411 and from the State \$1,026,800; the University of Minnesota, from students \$248,719 and from the State \$1,415,663; the University of Missouri, from students \$114,725 and from the State \$553,084; the University of Nebraska, from students \$85,214 and from the State \$622,648; Ohio State University, from students \$222,480 and from the State \$868,361; the University of Wisconsin, from students \$452,090 and from the State \$1,666,723.

This record is indeed of inspiring force to one measuring the progress of a people in terms of intellectual instruction or of intellectual power.

I have referred to the crisis which the colleges were facing in the academic year of 1916-17. Certain financial facts which helped to constitute this crisis I have stated, and other facts perhaps need no state-

ment. But one simple fact cannot be stated with too great emphasis. It is the fact of the uncertainty of revenue which arose from the doubt attending the number of students who should be enrolled in these more than five hundred colleges and universities. The revenue was uncertain because the students, who normally would furnish about one-half of the revenue, formed a very doubtful quantity. Taking the whole country, there were about twenty per cent. fewer students in the colleges in the year 1917-18 than in 1916-17. The proportion differed in many institutions. These differences are shown in the following table:

Name of College	Enrollment	
	1917-18	1916-17
Allegheny	352	403
Amherst	367	505
Bates	428	473
Boston College.....	638	675
Boston University	2,801	2,525
Bowdoin	341	434
Brown	916	1,136
Bryn Mawr.....	484	447
Clark	115	167
Colby	360	422
Colgate	434	581
Columbia	5,914	6,566
Cornell	3,859	5,264
De Pauw.....	874	930
Conn. College for Women.....	237	200
Dartmouth	1,020	1,501

Name of College	Enrollment	
	1917-18	1916-17
Goucher	701	612
Hamilton	200	220
Harvard	2,998	4,976
Holy Cross	621	592
Indiana University.....	1,656	2,008
Iowa State University	2,475	2,896
Knox	603	724
Lafayette	442	634
Lehigh	650	805
Massachusetts Agricultural.....	495	695
Mass. Institute of Tech.....	1,670	1,937
Middlebury	288	372
Mount Holyoke.....	850	824
New Hampshire.....	552	653
New York University.....	6,937	7,476
Norwich	181	196
Ohio State University.....	4,187	5,077
Oberlin	930	1,023
Pennsylvania State.....	2,073	2,352
Princeton	866	1,555
Purdue	1,644	2,136
Radcliffe	603	675
Rhode Island State.....	249	336
Simmons	1,054	1,088
Smith	1,946	1,917
Stanford	1,555	1,991
Syracuse	3,150	4,088
Trinity	166	246
Tufts	1,667	1,737
University of California	5,660	6,460
University of Cincinnati	2,068	2,131
University of Illinois	4,851	5,876

Name of College	Enrollment	
	1917-18	1916-17
University of Maine	816	1,195
University of Michigan	4,722	5,976
University of Nebraska	3,586	4,362
University of Pennsylvania	6,620	8,832
University of Rochester	526	564
University of Vermont	580	672
University of Virginia	738	1,059
University of Wisconsin	4,098	5,020
Vassar	1,125	1,102
Wellesley	1,612	1,572
Wesleyan	397	504
Western Reserve University.....	1,417	1,583
Williams	424	548
Worcester Polytechnic	425	539
Yale	2,129	3,262
Total	102,353	123,327

Regarding the reduction in the number of students for the year and years following the academic period of 1917-18 what prophet would have dared to foretell? It seemed probable that the draft age would be lowered below twenty-one. Most boys enter college about the age of eighteen and one-half years. One argued that they would not be called to the colors. The increase of pay, moreover, for work was compelling. The actual need of workers was rather persuasive to the conscientious youth. The boy of eighteen, ineligible for service, might yet take the

place of a brother of twenty-four who had gone to France. A general dislocation of forces and values, intellectual, commercial, industrial, turned the attention of youth from forces academic. In times of war scholarship is in peril of being silent.

What, therefore, were the colleges to do in arranging their scale of expenditures for the forthcoming year and years? That was the question with which boards of trustees, faculties, and academic executives were deeply concerned in the closing months of the academic year of 1917-18.

In answer it was said that there were certain methods of a negative sort worthy at least of consideration. One of the more impressive developments of the last decade and decades is the vast increase in numbers of the teaching staff. Such a development, in a condition like that obtaining in 1917-18, almost inevitably ceases. With this ceasing also ceases a certain increase in the expense side of a budget. Along with this limitation may arise a material limitation in the stopping of the erection of new buildings or of additions to equipment. Of course, such a negative action is simply analogous to the method pursued in any business of cutting down cost.

A second method of a more or less negative type was found in the lessening of expenses through the enlistments of teachers in the national service. In

not a few colleges the names of scores of men were borne on the official registers and catalogues as absent on leave in the national service. Some of these men received no, or small, pay from the Government. They were serving for a "dollar a year." In the case of others a certain moderate stipend was derived from the Government, and from the Government only. In the case of others — a large number — the Governmental pay was augmented by an amount made up by the individual college which still bore the enlisted men upon its official registers. The design in this case usually was to make the pay derived from both the college and the Government equal to that formerly derived from the college. In still other instances, the amount of compensation was determined not by uniform principle or method, but by individual arrangement made between the person engaged in the national service and his college.

A third method lay in the sad measure of cutting down the salaries of the teaching staff and of administrative officers. This measure was seldom suffered. Such a reduction would not only have hurt most deserving members of a most important profession, but it would have also damaged the profession in the eyes and heart of the public. Such a damage would have been nothing less than a disaster to the whole community as well as to the profession itself. The dis-

aster would have become even more disastrous in view of the increasing cost of living.

A fourth method of reduction opened. It consisted in the suspension, for the time being, of departments, either by complete elimination or by union with other departments. Latin and Greek were, be it said with deep regret, declining forces in the academic curriculum. Greek had, much to the sorrow of a large part of the older thinking members of the community, approached the vanishing point of Hebrew. Latin each year had been commanding a smaller clientele. These two literatures and languages might for the hour be united in their teaching. The same method might be pursued with French and German, as they had been formally united in an early academic period, under the general head of "Modern Languages." German in the year 1917-18 was elected by only one-half of the number of students who chose it in the year preceding. The number of students in French was about doubled. In this relation many small sections of students — and the number of such sections was and is more numerous than usually believed — might be reduced or entirely eliminated. Large classes are not effective as educational conditions. But for the time being they might be suffered.

Turning now to the positive method, it was said

that income might be increased through the gifts of trustees and of friends, gifts made for immediate expenditures. Such a method was and is normal. Trustees are bound to protect and to promote trusts entrusted to them. The war was to end some time. The demand for educated men was to be vast at the end of the war. The colleges were to give such men to the community. A vision of duty, of privilege, cannot but influence trustees to hold together the complex and serious agencies which contribute to the higher education. They are ever to be prepared to advance these agencies whenever the door of opportunity opens. They are to be at once conservative and progressive. They are to conserve, to save, to cause to endure, to hold fast all that the past offers. They are also to go on, to advance into new realms of enlarging opportunity. Never is a board of trustees to sound retreat in any institution which ought to live.

This method of raising money for the immediate need was better, in my judgment, inexpressibly better, than the method of borrowing to meet emergencies. The method of borrowing, I am sorry to say, certain colleges did adopt. For debts are to be paid. It was recognized that the future would lay special demands upon the American college, and that the

meeting of these subsequent demands would be interfered with by the paying of old debts.

Boards of trustees, to whom are primarily committed the financial interests of American colleges and universities, as to the faculties are committed the scholastic concerns, are, as a rule, composed of men high in purpose, able in intellect, sensitive to public needs, and devoted to their academic duty. They are frequently not well informed regarding the place of the higher education in a democracy. But such lack of information and of consequent sympathy is quite as often due to an inefficient president as to any other cause. Yet as a body they have vision — though not often a far-off one — and they also have what is of greater and of greatest importance, capacities for concerted and high resolution and action whenever the occasion strongly calls. The closing months of the war in the history of American institutions of the higher learning were apparently to constitute such an occasion and the occasion was continued in the following years. These bodies of trustees did prove able to do their own great duties, and to quicken other men to do their duties likewise in the crisis.

To the taking of risks (though not too boldly), to the making of sacrifice, and to the upholding of intellectual standards in an industrial age, in a

period of necessary and glorious military force, these boards of trustees gave themselves willingly, fearlessly, and triumphantly. For such self-giving, people ultimately receive richest rewards:—the consciousness that in a time of public doubt, anxiety, and fear, they have helped to transmute things material through personal devotion into truth and into righteousness.

IV

THE STUDENTS' ARMY TRAINING CORPS

The months of the spring and early summer of the year 1918 were black for the cause of the allies. Germany had made her peace with Russia. The Prussian spirit had revived not only in Prussia but throughout the German Empire. The transfer of troops from the Eastern to the Western front had been made. The British Empire with the backs of her soldiers to the wall, as Haig said, was being put to the test. America had begun to send her troops over, but not in the numbers or having the training which the terrible seriousness of the cause demanded. The westward rush of German divisions threw doubt only on one point whether the contest would reach its early consummation in the capture of Paris or in the capitulation of the channel ports. Among all the allies it was a time of deep questioning; among some a time of racking doubt; and among a few, a time of paralyzing dismay. The fate of the individual nations and of a democratic world was trembling in the balances of war.

It was under such circumstances and in such a mood that the United States began to consider the question of a larger participation through her forces in the world's conflict. Chief among the measures debated was the increase of her man power.

The Act of Congress putting down the draft age to eighteen instinctively and inevitably laid a condition on the students of the college of unexampled seriousness. This seriousness was intimated in a circular issued by the Committee on Education and Special Training in the month of March, 1918:

"The college student body constitutes a great military asset if fully developed. Many are material for junior officers and non-commissioned officers. One hundred thousand young men systematically instructed say twelve hours a week during the college year, and with summer training camps, would produce at the end of each summer during the period of the war a body of trained young men who would be of immense value in forming larger armies if the war, as now seems likely, is much prolonged. In our judgment the military value of training all the college students of the country is alone more than sufficient to justify such a plan.

At the same time a well-conceived and comprehensive training system would make the students feel that they were doing their share in a manner approved by the Government, and were justified in continuing their studies."¹

¹ Committee on Education and Special Training, *War Department Circular*, March 28th, 1918.

The average age of entering college is eighteen *plus*. The average age of graduation, therefore, is twenty-two. The proposed conscription, therefore, immediately and inevitably led or would lead to the emptying of all college classes into the army, and also of preventing most men from entering college at all in the academic year of 1918-19. In order to forestall such a catastrophe the Act establishing the Students' Army Training Corps was passed. The Act of Congress, approved May 18th, 1917, an Act commonly known as the Selective Service Act, was amended by the Act of August 31st of the following year. It was of the utmost significance. It authorized the raising and maintaining by voluntary induction and draft, of a Students' Army Training Corps, and authorized the Secretary of War to form such Corps in educational institutions. The purpose in establishing these units was to utilize the plant, equipment and organization of the colleges for selecting and training candidates for office, and technical experts for service. Colleges and professional schools formed the body of the institutions in which such units were authorized. Their number was about five hundred, representing colleges and schools of almost every grade and condition. The colleges became, like the railroads, essentially government institutions. All students who entered the American colleges in

the autumn of 1918, either as freshmen or as upper-classmen, being eighteen years of age and of physical fitness, became by their entrance, soldiers of the United States.

These students pursued a course of study which was either military or colored by military conditions. No less than eleven hours of each week were assigned for drill and work therewith connected. In addition fourteen hours of lectures and recitations were provided from subjects which had or might have a certain relationship to military affairs. These subjects included English, French, German, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, mineralogy, geometry, meteorology, topography and map-drawing, astronomy, descriptive geography, hygiene, sanitation, psychology, mechanical and free-hand drawing, surveying, economics, accounting, history, international law, military law and government. From this score of subjects the student made such selection as the college officials thought fitting. One course, however, was required of every member of the Students' Army Training Corps, generally known as the underlying ideas of the war; but this course was interpreted generously as standing for a course in the aims of the war, or in history, government, economics, philosophy or modern literature. It is to be noted that Latin or Greek or Biblical literature was

not included in the course; and that German was included.

An essential military camp was established on every campus. The *Campus Academicus* became the *Campus Martius*.

All of these soldier students, or student soldiers, were required to live in barracks provided by the college and to have their meals at a common mess. The program of each day was essentially arranged as follows:

6:45 A.M.	Reveille
7:00	Mess
7:30 — 9:30	Drill
9:30 — 12:00	Recitation and Study
12:15 P.M.	Mess
1:00 — 4:30	Study and Recitation
4:30 — 5:30	Athletics and recreation
5:30	Mess
Mess to 7:30	At student's disposal
7:30 — 9:30	Study under supervision
10:00	Taps

The requirements of the Government, moreover, went beyond the order of each day. It concerned the whole academic year as well. Each year was divided into four terms of three months each, beginning with the 1st of October. Each term was usually to be made a distinct unit of instruction by each college.

In the development of the Students' Army Training Corps the Federal Government approached more nearly than by any other method or measure to the German procedure of the control of the higher education. The distance was indeed immense, for the control of education by the State was and is a permanent Teutonic method. The State directs the course of study. The State determines the emphases in teaching and learning. The State appoints the professors. The State recognizes the truth of Bismarck's remark—"that he who controls the schools, controls the future." The German State is the educational director. To the State the university teacher takes the oath of allegiance. His professional patriotism is a method of professorial advancement. For disobedience the State punishes him by removal or degradation or other penalty. Freedom of teaching is a somewhat ridiculous professorial liberty interpreted in the light of the State's directorship. For the generation previous to the outbreak of the war, history was made the tool of German patriotism and of the depreciation of other nations. Geography was transmuted into a scheme of colonial enlargement and aggrandizement. Anthropology became a method of eulogizing the racial Germanic dominance. Biography, essay, poem, was made a means of projecting Germanic ideals. The atmosphere of the schoolroom

and of university aula was the atmosphere of pan-Germanism.

Such was the German autocracy in education, which, however, was thoroughly unlike the strictness and orderliness of American education.

The pecuniary provision made by the Government for each soldier student was generous. The Government paid tuition fees, provided lodging in the college barracks, board in the college mess, and uniforms, and gave him \$30.00 a month as wages. The charge for tuition differs in different colleges, but assuming that this charge is \$150.00 a year, the Government promised to pay for each student, \$150.00 for tuition, \$360.00 for lodging and board or \$510.00, his wages of \$360.00 and the cost of his uniform, making a total of at least \$900.00. This arrangement formed the most generous provision ever made in the history of liberal education for the education of a great body of student soldiers. It had no precedent.

Four distinct groups of citizens were immediately and generally concerned with this academic revolution. They were the college faculty, the college trustees, the students, and the public. To this revolution the college faculties assented, if not with alacrity, at least with willingness and in coöperation. It was not, be it also said, the willingness of compulsion, but a willingness based on the assurance that this

method represented one of the most effective forces for the winning of the great war. Faculties recognized as one of the advantages of the system the fact that the students felt a certain obligation to work, which under the individualistic system of the former time was somewhat foreign to certain groups.

Trustees too, shouldered the financial and administrative responsibility for housing and feeding these men with the same generosity with which they as private citizens gave to the "Y. M. C. A." or bought Liberty Bonds. The student, moreover, took, for a time, to this new life of the old and the new work, under unique conditions, with an enthusiasm born of a generous and direct interest. But be it added that the enthusiasm somewhat cooled after a few weeks. The number of students, too, was large. In fact, the enrollment in the freshman classes of the best colleges was far greater than had ever been known. It may be added that the cause of this increase was not to be interpreted as slackness. For these men as college students were subject to the same general terms — of either hope or fear, and far more frequently hope — of being drafted as if they had dwelt outside the college gateway.

The fourth group concerned with this revolution was the people themselves. The people responded to this change with an enthusiasm akin to that of the

boys. Education has become the great human interest, and the American people recognized that this unique development of the higher form of this interest was fraught with the most tremendous potentialities for knowledge, righteousness, and power, individual and national.

In causing this transformation in the higher education, the Government was moved by at least three considerations. First, the giving of relief from overcrowding in the cantonments. Second, the promotion of efficiency. The efficiency was promoted by the elimination of the unfit and the discovering of the fit, and of the fittest for special jobs. For after a period, each man was assigned to military duty in one of the following forms:

- (a) Transferred to a central officers' camp.
- (b) Transferred to a non-commissioned officers' training school.
- (c) Transferred to a school for intensive work in a specified line.
- (d) Transferred to a technical training school.
- (e) Transferred to a cantonment to serve as a private.

A third motive of the Government was the saving of the colleges from disruption. The draft would have gone a long ways toward at least the temporary dissolution of the colleges. No favoritism

could or should have been shown by the government to the academic class. These men could not and should not have been made the subjects of exemption, as medical students were made, and properly made. Most men, too, would have declined to enter a college that thus exempted them. They would have felt the implied shame of cowardice. The men who joined the college were still open to conscription as were men without the academic walls. They were allowed to stay in college for a time, just how long that time would be no one knew. It might have been for a single quarter or term. It might have been for several quarters; but whether the time were long or short, many men would in that time have succeeded in getting the college touch and the college vision would have dawned upon their eyes.

In an effort to serve the college and in the purpose of the college to serve the nation a campaign for students was undertaken in each of the states. Conventions of college officers were called to promote general enthusiasm and to consider academic conditions. High school principals and superintendents were called on to quicken the interest of students in going on with their education. Parishes and churches were requested by the United States Committee on Education to present to their congregations the im-

portance of both the higher education and of military service. Parents were encouraged to make all sacrifices necessary to keep their sons and daughters in school. Series of letters were printed by the newspapers interpreting and emphasizing the advantages of the higher education. State and local superintendents of schools employed the agency of their office in arguing for the value of an education of an advanced type. "It's patriotic to go to college"—became the common educational war-cry.

Many and diverse were the arguments used in this campaign for the entrance of young men into the college, and subsequently, into the United States army. The War Department issued special circulars urging entrance and enlistment. It was declared that engineers, chemists, physicists and geologists were as important as riflemen. Liberal education and scientific training help, it was affirmed, to develop the qualities of research which are as necessary as narrow military efficiency. The entrance into college would prevent premature enlistment and would offer a proper outlet for patriotic zeal. The standards of education would be maintained and efficiency in winning the war promoted. The education and training thus given, effective in war, would also become precious assets in the time of peace. The individual student would be

made fit for service in the world, not only in the ensuing months but for his entire lifetime. Said the Commissioner of Education:

“ Not only is it necessary for the welfare of the country and the safety of our democracy when the war is over; it is equally important for the strength of our country while the war continues. We would all hope that the war may end soon, but it may be very long, and in war a people must prepare for every possibility. If the war should be long, there will be a great need in all the Allied countries for large numbers of men and women of the best college and university training for service both in the Army and in the industries directly connected with the war, and the colleges and universities of the United States must supply this need to a large extent for all the Allied countries. In some fields, as chemistry and the various forms of civil and industrial engineering, the demand for the trained men and women is already much greater than the supply. It is, therefore, a patriotic duty for young men and women who are prepared to enter college to do so and for those now in college to remain until their courses are completed, unless they are called for some service which can not be rendered so effectively by others. They should be encouraged to exercise that high form of self-restraint which will keep them at their studies despite all temptations for some more immediate service until they are prepared for the expert work without which the devotion and efforts of millions will be of little value.

When the war is over and the days of reconstruction come, the call upon this country for men and women of the highest and best training for help in rebuilding the world will be large and insistent. For our own good and

for the good of the world we should be able to respond generously. Conditions in this country and our position among the peoples of the world will require of us a higher level of intelligence and civic righteousness than we or any other people have ever yet attained. This must be insured largely through the education of our schools.”¹

The curriculum into which the student was introduced on his entrance into college was one of much detail. The program was in no small degree based upon the age of the students at the time of the opening of the colleges. The supposition was common that the war would continue for at least one year, and possibly for three or four. It was, therefore, determined that the older students of more than twenty years should remain in college only one term of twelve weeks; those who had reached the age of nineteen, two terms of twelve weeks each; and those of a younger age would possibly be allowed to remain for three terms. For those whose outlook was of the briefest or briefer duration, the subjects prescribed were of a narrower sort, being quite entirely military, embracing subjects determined by the service proposed. It might include air service, ordnance, engineering, military law and practice, surveying and map drawing and motor transportation. The curriculum was held to professional subjects. For men,

¹ Letter from the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Washington, August 15, 1918.

however, of the earlier age of eighteen, a somewhat different program was prescribed of a broader type, but even in this broader type courses in military instruction and war issues were included.¹

While these teachings were being given to no less than one hundred and fifty thousand men in about

¹ The breadth of the instruction in history for instance is illustrated in a pamphlet issued by the Bureau of Education in 1917, entitled, "Opportunities for History Teachers — The Lessons of the Great War in the Classroom." In one paragraph of that work it is said: "The training of young people, and of the parents through the pupils, to take an intelligent part in the decision of public questions is important enough at any time; but it is peculiarly so in this war, whose meaning for the individual citizen is not so easily brought home. In 1823 and 1824, when the Monroe Doctrine was under discussion, Daniel Webster referred to the people who thought that Americans had no interest in the European system of mutual insurance for hereditary rulers against popular movements. What, they said, have we to do with Europe? 'The thunder, it may be said, rolls at a distance. The wide Atlantic is between us and danger; and, however others may suffer, we shall remain safe.' Webster's answer to this question was strikingly similar to some of the utterances of President Wilson: 'I think it is a sufficient answer to this to say that we are one of the nations of the earth. . . . We have as clear an interest in international law as individuals have in the laws of society.' That was said long before the steamship, the ocean cable, the submarine, and the wireless had broken down still further our 'splendid isolation.' To-day we are fighting for our own rights, but over and above those special rights of our own are fighting for international law itself, without which no nation can be safe, least of all those democratic governments which are less effectively organized for war than for peace."

five hundred colleges, the gains and losses of this military-academic program became apparent. The gains, and there were gains, and losses, and there were losses, academic and personal, educational and administrative, occurred under an authority that was divided. The original college officers had charge of the regular academic work. The military officers were in supreme control of the military side. These two administrations were going forward upon the same campus and at the same time. Authority was divided. It was only because of the mutual respect of those concerned, that collisions were so few and so slight. Academic standards were arbitrarily set aside; academic methods were contemned; military standards, manners and methods were installed. Because of the exigency college presidents and faculties were inclined to give up to the military dominance. The officers who embodied these conditions were usually young men, themselves students in college, other than the college to which they were assigned. They were immature, without experience, unable to understand relationships and naturally inclined to the arbitrary enforcement of rules and orders. The War Department sought to avoid confusion and collision; but confusion was inevitable and collisions not uncommon. The command from the War Department that the officers should assist the educational authori-

ties in securing from all men a full performance of their academic work had small meaning. Some officers were unfit to do their duty and they therefore did it with inefficiency, and with but little regard to either student or teacher.

While this work of military training, and of a certain type of liberal education, was going on, the armistice was signed. The stopping of induction was ordered November 14th, and a few days after, November 26th, a general demobilization of the one hundred and fifty thousand soldier students enrolled was ordered. The order for demobilization came as a surprise quite as great, and quite as disintegrating for the students as for the college itself. The suddenness was somewhat disastrous. The harm done by the issuance of the order was well indicated by Ex-President Taft:—

“ No institutions in our country have been more helpful to the Government in carrying on the war than the universities and colleges. From their students and recent graduates the War and Navy Departments have filled their training camps and recruited their officers. The greatest difficulty in making a republican army is in securing officers. The wonderful adaptability of the American college boy saved the situation for the first two millions. When the second two millions had to be raised and officered the Government in effect commandeered every collegiate school of learning and made it into a military school, an

associate West Point or Annapolis. Rigid discipline was enforced under army or naval officers. Curricula and faculties were arranged to accord with the purpose, and the whole academic character of the institutions was abandoned to aid the Government in the war. Thousands and thousands of cadets have been launched on a year's training that would have made good material for young commissioned officers in the army. They have now completed nearly a third of the school year. The colleges and universities have made their plans for a full year.

With the armistice and the coming of peace, the military departments of the Government, it is said, propose to discharge these cadets and to break up the plans to which the whole college system of the country has committed itself for a year at great expense of time and money and effort. In the middle of the school year the cadets are to be thrown out of their courses and to be left without discipline and without definite aim or plan until next fall. This is greatly to be regretted. It is not fair to the colleges. They cannot resume their academic courses and life before next fall. It will leave them crippled and struggling for nine months. Mere money compensation, if forthcoming, will not be adequate. It is not fair to the cadets. A year's training of the kind already begun would be good for the boys and good for the country. It would be a useful step in beginning a system of universal training. It would save the country from demoralization of its higher educational work.

The cost to the Government of continuance until June would be small as compared with the waste involved in this sudden break up. It is not too much to say that the announcement from Washington is received with dismay by college authorities throughout the country. It may lead to a protest from them that the Administration will do well to heed.

If the unfortunate policy is adhered to, it will give well-grounded support to the charge that the Administration is afraid to do what it knows it ought to do, because it wishes to escape the demagogic and cheap criticism that it favors unduly those seeking a college education.”¹

The colleges had not only revolutionized their curricula, they had also expended large amounts of money in the construction of barracks and of mess halls for their soldier students, these costing from a few thousand dollars up to sums as large as at least \$200,000. These structures were paid for out of the funds of the colleges themselves, under the assurance that the Government would finally compensate the colleges for such expenditures. After some months of delay, in some cases of more than a year, delays in many cases inevitable, however, the Government finally adjusted these accounts and usually to the satisfaction of the colleges concerned.

As one reviews this unique educational movement it is not difficult to count up its gains and its losses.

Among the gains is to be noted an increase in the formal courtesy and good manners of the students. The uniform may or may not be becoming to the individual taken by himself, yet, it is becoming and certainly impressive when it is seen upon a hundred or a thousand men. The manners of these men be-

¹ A Grave Injustice to American Colleges, published in many papers, November, 1918.

came more constantly such as belong to gentlemen. Salutations were given with greater constancy and freeness,—not that these items are at all of primary significance, but they do have at least some value, value inward as well as outward. For good manners in the college yard make the ordinary doings of life a bit more easy, and they, moreover, increase genuine self-respect.

It is also clear that the regular habits of the student camp tended to promote health. The habits of the older college men are not habits. They are, rather, violations, eccentricities, irregularities, conscious or unconscious. The college man sleeps at all hours or no hours at all. He eats at all hours or does not eat at all, and eats, when he does eat, what he likes. He exercises in such ways as please him and too often it pleases him not to exercise at all. He studies much or he studies little, and at such times and places as suit his daily and hourly convenience. Though such an interpretation appears to be a little too general, yet, there are scores of college men in every hundred to whom it can be fittingly applied. Contrast with such disorderliness a program such as obtained at most colleges: in which from the reveille at 6:45 and breakfast at 7:00, with drill at 7:30, every hour till taps at ten o'clock was occupied! Such a program promotes health.

Among these advantages was a third gain, to wit, students were well looked after by the military collegiate authorities. The authorities knew where each student was, and how he was, and what he was doing with his time and with his own personal self. Supervision was constant and detailed. Such vigilance was quite unlike the old academic *laissez faire*. I know very well the advantages and disadvantages of each method. *Laissez faire*, improperly applied, develops rashness, waste, intellectual, ethical and not infrequently utter wreckage. Supervision, properly used, promotes economy in spending one's complete forces. Supervision, improperly used, applied too constantly or too closely, tends to promote the infantile mind and will, without vigor or directness of personality. It protects innocence; it kills achievement. I venture to say that the older colleges or at least many colleges of the older time, erred on the side of giving too little supervision or too great freedom. They thought the student was a man. He was, but he was not quite so much of a man as they were inclined to believe. Therefore, the faculty gave him an independence which he could not use well, and he wasted himself.

The military college may be inclined to use vigilance too constant or too exact, but the reaction from the older system was not unfitting. And this vigi-

lance of academic conduct and bearing produced in the year 1918 good results.

Such watchfulness insured another gain. It was the gain of industriousness. The college man, made into a soldier, worked. He labored at his studies some eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week. He labored at his drill some ten hours a week. Happy man! If he were poor, or semi-poor, in purse, he was not obliged to earn his living at 25 cents an hour. He was in the pay of the Government, and he was able to study. If he were rich, or half-rich, he had no leisure in which to spend money or to loaf. His mood was — Attention. The college man worked, and to teach men how to work effectively is also a chief end of higher education. It was proved that more work was done, and better work. This gain was both quantitative and qualitative. Yet, it is to be added, that this gain was vitiated by the interruption of the day's routine and also by a certain excitement under which the soldier student constantly labored.

Closely connected with this advantage was the advantage of obedience. The first duty of the soldier, whether that soldier be a student or an infantry man, is obedience. He is not under rules; he is under commands; he takes orders. The contrast between the directness and the apparent arbitrariness of the

camp and the graciousness of a college of gentlemen is deep and wide. This obedience is to be prompt and absolute. Such a life is good for the soldier student for at least a time. It is well for him to be the subject or victim of penalty, and not to be the writer of excuses for absences. Indifference to law is an American failing. It is good for college men to obey law with promptness and exactness.

A further gain was also apparent in the increase in the democracy of the college. The soldier's uniform is typical. One of the first things which the authorities did to the men on their induction into the Students' Army Training Corps was to take from them their fraternity pins. One oath was administered, one mess was spread, one camp life was provided, one drill was required, one set of tactics was learned and practiced, one comprehensive duty was imposed. Of course, official individualities were respected. Of course, the life of the officer was made unlike the life of the man of the ranks. The distinction between the officer and the private was emphasized with a stress which the civilian does not understand, but such distinction was declared to be necessary for orderliness. Yet, the general zones and strata of social demarcations which, in some colleges have been too characteristic, were either wholly cut down or largely wiped out.

I also wish to refer to two more gains lying in a different plane from the gains accruing to the student body. One of the gains was found in the evidence which this transformation offered concerning the adjustability of the college teacher. Too often has this teacher been looked upon as unbending in his methods, fixed in his devotion to his scholastic ideas, and stiff in his interpretations of the means to be used in achieving results. Such has been the interpretation of the public. Those of us who live all our lives with college teachers have recognized that this interpretation was not so true as was commonly believed. The revolution proved that it was even more false than seemed possible. College teachers of Greek became chairmen of committees on building barracks and on running mess halls. Teachers of philosophy instructed in elementary French, and distinguished professors of Latin became interested in purchasing supplies for a post canteen. The professorial mind is not an unbending bar of steel, but rather, like water, it adjusts itself to the vessel which bears it.

A further advantage was also of a similar sort. It was the impression of the public that the college is remote from human concerns. The public has often assumed that the college was separated from human affairs, and that the academic mind was quite foreign to common interests. Of course, the belief was false,

so false was it, that it seemed unworthy to speak of it, much less to attempt to remove it. But the revolution proved to all who would receive evidence, that every interest lying outside of the academic gateways is of deep concern to the teachers dwelling within these gateways. The college student and the college teacher responded to the call of the colors and of the nation as no other body responded,— and I do not depreciate any response,— and such response the community not only recognized as normal and natural, but also eulogized as belonging to the human order of the heroic.

Such were some of the gains resulting from the academic revolution, and they were gains of great worth.

But there were losses also found in this academic revolution. These losses may be very largely put into the singular number. For the sum of them was a single loss. It was the loss of the higher education itself; it was the loss of culture; it was the loss of intellectual breadth; it was the loss of liberal learning. Various may be the names and diverse the expressions used to indicate the loss. It is the loss of a sense of relationships, of a certain intellectual freedom in knowing and in judging subjects, movements, men. A well-roundedness and balance, a power of reason, judgment, and large humanness, a sense of consideration for contrary principles and motives, means and

methods, a willingness to listen and to reflect, a power of weighing evidence and of assessing truths and facts at a just value, a genuine intellectual altruism:—these are and ever are the qualities and marks of the higher education which were brought into jeopardy. The higher education helps to make each citizen of the nation a freeman of the intellectual realm. Of course, breadth may easily become vagueness and liberty, looseness,—as easily as individuality may become eccentricity; but to preserve the value of breadth and of liberality without narrowness, is the goal of the higher education. Yet it may be at once said that culture or cultivation is secured as much by the teacher as by the subject taught, be the subject even the great literatures or philosophies. For a boor may so teach Greek as to create boorishness; and a scholar may so teach carpentry as to promote scholarship and to nourish scholars. It is easy to believe that several of the required military subjects, taught with a sense of relationships, would always tend to develop men of great thoughtfulness and appreciation, of genuine education and culture.

Though this comprehensive loss was chief, yet there occurred also two minor disadvantages. One was the lack of initiative, and the slightness of opportunity for individual study and for personal independence. Each day, as I have said, was a program

through which the students marched with the regularity of soldiers. To vary from the system, save for an exceptional and imperative reason, was impossible. Good as this system was for some men of the loose intellectual type and of moral laziness, it was for others, the worst possible process. It made the lock-step in education.

Another disadvantage lay in a wholly different realm. It was the lack of that culture and inspiration which comes from the formal services of religion. Of course, the camp had its religious rights and societies. Every regiment has a chaplain or chaplains. The "Y. M. C. A." in many and diverse ways performs a great service. Yet that place which the college chapel fills in the usual academic order was lacking in the military college. Religion in college should represent the broadest teachings. It should embody at least these four principles: love as the law of life; the perfectability of the race; the personality of God; and the immortality of the individual soul. The atmosphere which clusters about a proper daily chapel service, the military college lacks, and cannot do otherwise than lack. Such a service represents not only religion as such, but also religion as an inspiring part of culture and a necessary element in the character of the noblest individual man.

I should perhaps refer to one further condition

which resulted from the academic transformation, which may be said to lie in the educational "No Man's Land." It is found in the condition of the ordinary undergraduate undertakings. These undertakings had become in the earlier time too numerous and too compelling. Avocations had displaced the vocation of the college undergraduate, yet, the avocation had and has its functions to perform. The college newspaper and magazine, daily, weekly, monthly, the musical and dramatic clubs, the debating and literary societies, the athletic associations, these and many similar organizations and forces ceased to be, or at least ceased to live a vigorous life. To some students these informal forces formed and form the best of the college. To others they serve as leeches, drawing away the real academic blood. But whether for good or for ill, they practically ceased to function in the Students' Army Training Corps.

Chief among such academic by-products is found the college fraternity. Next to the organization of the individual class, these societies of the students are the most important of all associations. They form a cross section of the academic life. The fraternity includes freshmen as well as seniors. It also goes beyond the day of graduation. Its alumni associations form an important part of its organization, giving counsel and support, financial and per-

sonal, to the undergraduate chapter. With the establishment of the Students' Army Training Corps the fraternities closed their houses or at any rate, curtailed their activities. The requirements that the soldier students should live in barracks forbade the use of houses for dormitory purposes. The few members not eligible for the training course by reason of age or of physical disability, used them; and in the few free hours of the day the men in khaki came to them as a place of refreshing. But for the first months of the college year of 1918-1919, they became rather a liability than an asset. On demobilization they resumed their normal functions. It may now be said that the fraternities in the American colleges have, as fraternities, taken a great part in the war, no less than one-fourth of all the members of some fraternities being enrolled. If their members went forth as students and undergraduates of individual colleges, they also found deep inspiration and cause of hearty gratitude in their fraternity association. In their quarterly and other journals, the fraternities kept in close relationship with their brethren over-seas.

A proper summary of all the comprehensive and diverse conditions establishing the Students' Army Training Corps is found in a personal letter, and yet not so personal as to forbid its present use, written

a few days after the demobilization of the larger share of the corps, by the Secretary of War. Mr. Baker says:

"The Students' Army Training Corps was, of course, primarily organized for military uses, but I was especially happy that such an arrangement turned out to be feasible because it seemed to me to be a way of keeping a large number of our American colleges from entire dissolution, and gave some promise of continuing academic traditions of the country during the war. It seemed to me that if the war was to go on for several years we would come to a situation in this country of having almost no academically trained men over a period of three or four years. Serious as this loss would have been in itself, a still more serious consequence of it would have been the break in the pursuit of the liberal studies, for the released army would undoubtedly have gone eagerly to scientific and the so-called more practical courses, while the liberal studies of language and literature would have had a struggle to regain their places.

"I think there are some compensations of the kind you suggest. Our Army experience has taught a good deal about the health of young men, and while I am by no means clear that we can get the same sort of zeal among college students for military training in times of peace as we got when there was an immediate war objective ahead of the men, I still feel that there are some things for the colleges to learn from the training camps, and they are particularly the things implied in the soldier's motto of keeping one's self 'fit to fight.' I share your feeling, too, that the discipline and courtesy of the military establishment are handsome attributes in the normal relation of

young men to one another and to their instructors, and I hope it will be found possible for us to retain some of these habits as a permanent gain.”¹

In a further letter written July 19th, 1919, Secretary Baker gives a benediction to the colleges: —

“ The settlements recently completed between your institution and the United States Government terminate the contractual relations entered into last autumn for the purpose of carrying into effect the plan of the Students’ Army Training Corps. While that plan was a logical if not imperative step at the time when it was undertaken, when a long war appeared to be in prospect, and when it was necessary to mobilize the entire energies of the nation, the signing of the armistice on November 11 prevented it from ever being fully carried into effect. The abrupt termination of the S. A. T. C. before sufficient time had elapsed for its complete development, the interruptions due to the influenza epidemic and to other conditions incident to the early stages of organization, created difficulties which could not fail seriously to disturb the order of academic life. I am, therefore, glad of this opportunity to express to you my recognition of the patience, devotion and skill with which both teachers and executives played the parts which they were asked to play. The proposals of the War Department almost invariably met with a prompt and cordial response, and a willingness to make very genuine sacrifices where these seemed to be required by the nation’s military need.”

¹ Letter of December 30, 1918.

V

THE ENLISTED

While the Students' Army Training Corps was performing its important functions on the college campus, undergraduates and graduates were enlisting in the service at home and overseas, and were doing the duties which belong to enlisted men on training ground and in camp. They had, also, for a year and a half, been already enlisting. The numbers of such enrolled from the alumni and students of each college and university it is impossible to learn with fullness and accuracy. Indeed the number of such men is not usually known to the colleges themselves. For graduates enlist and fail to inform the college; and even if colleges are informed, records are behind the facts of enrollment and of service. But from reports made by colleges and universities it is estimated that not far from 180,000 graduates and undergraduates were enrolled in the service of the United States outside and beyond the Army Training Corps of the autumn of 1918. They were found in all

branches of the service.¹ Of course the infantry included the largest share, but the artillery called out a peculiarly commanding response in the men of trained brain. Of this number of 180,000, about one-third were undergraduates. The 120,000 who had received their degrees formed about one-third of all living graduates. The proportion enrolled was simply immense, especially as one considers the number of graduates who were ineligible by reason of age or of physical disabilities. From no section of American society was poured forth so large a proportion of soldiers. The reasons for an offering so magnificent are intimated in the first chapter.

The number of college men, however, both un-

¹ The military and naval service is a general term, which applied to specific instances of service, might result in confusion. At a meeting of representatives of colleges, held at New Haven, May 10th, 1918, a definition of service, military and naval, was adopted. By this definition such service includes:

"1. Men who have voluntarily enlisted or who have been drafted and mustered into the service; and

"Men who have been commissioned and who have accepted the commission and have been called into service.

"2. Men who are actually engaged in service in Europe with the army or navy as workers under the direction of the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Hebrew Y. M. A., or the Red Cross.

"This is to be interpreted as including men engaged in ambulance service, whether serving directly as part of the military organization, or in some semi-independent unit as the Norton-Harjes unit."

dergraduate and graduate, who entered the service it is impossible to state with accuracy. The following table is based largely on figures approved by the several hundred colleges and universities concerned, and also in part on estimates furnished by the institutions themselves, or by others knowing the academic conditions. For it is to be acknowledged that many colleges themselves are ignorant of the number of graduates or former students who were enrolled. The institutions of each State gave the following quotas: —

Alabama	1,514	Maryland	2,138
Arizona	271	Massachusetts	14,157
Arkansas	863	Michigan	9,726
California	7,037	Minnesota	3,499
Colorado	2,262	Missouri	4,378
Connecticut	9,758	Montana	1,281
Delaware	264	Nebraska	2,487
District of Colum- bia	855	Nevada	298
Florida	606	New Hampshire ...	1,668
Georgia	2,190	New Jersey	4,261
Hawaii	41	New Mexico.....	169
Idaho	426	New York	14,635
Illinois	8,885	North Carolina....	2,855
Indiana	5,817	North Dakota	1,019
Iowa	5,994	Ohio	10,143
Kansas	3,069	Oklahoma	1,548
Kentucky	2,979	Oregon	1,340
Louisiana	1,095	Pennsylvania	14,423
Maine	1,735	Porto Rico	19
		Rhode Island.....	1,396

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South Carolina	1,281	Washington	4,618
Tennessee	3,065	West Virginia	1,343
Texas	2,325	Wisconsin	3,837
Utah	1,608		
Vermont	1,684	Grand total	178,824
Virginia	4,071		

These tables serve to call out certain impressive inferences.

The statistics prove the active loyalty of college students and of college graduates. They give no intimation of a fugitive and cloistered virtue. They convey no suggestion of remoteness from human concerns or of indifference to human problems or of contempt for human sufferings. They disprove the occasional and loudly expressed belief, or the quietly held suspicion, that the college youth of America are characterized by gilded superficiality (and not a very deep gilding either), by contemptuous thoughtlessness, and by unreasoning selfishness. They prove that the college heart, the college mind, the college conscience, are as sound as oak, as true as steel, as pure as the best diamond.

The statistics also give evidence of the worth of the American system of the higher education. This system has been passing through transformations. From the classical to the scientific, from the ancient linguistic to the modern linguistic foundation, from

the natural sciences to the social sciences, has proceeded the academic movement. Content has been altered, emphasis transferred, methods changed. But the purpose has remained deep and permanent. The moving spirit has suffered no "sea" or other "change." To educate their mind to think, to promote reflectiveness as a mood, to transmute knowledge into wisdom, to train the heart unto tenderness without gushingness, to give a sense of aspiration without visionariness, to make sympathy broad without becoming thin or artificial, to give delicacy to the moral nature without over-refinement, to discipline resistance without stubbornness and firmness without obstinacy, to give to character graciousness without obsequiousness, to the gentleman aggressiveness without obtrusiveness — such are some intimations of the purpose of the higher education. These purposes have been maintained. The higher education has kept watch to insure the integrity of the individual conscience and the soundness of the individual intellect. The result is superb.

A further inference, of a broader and more immediate significance, relates to the essential worthiness of the American society whence are drawn these youths. They are in a sense picked youth. They represent a saving remnant of a long educational process of their generation and of generations pre-

ceding. Each of them is perhaps one in thirty of the companions who began their primary school with them. Yet they are in fact part and parcel of the whole community. From their integrity we have a right to infer the integrity of the whole group whence they have been drawn.

One further inference is to be added. It is the inference that the governors of the American colleges may, in modesty, give to themselves heartiest congratulations. The teacher in the American college, in becoming a teacher, gives up many of the prizes of life which allure not a few of his contemporaries and comrades. He surrenders every hope of wealth. He knows he is to be contented with a simple competency. He crushes out any desire, even if he ever had one, of general public distinction. Yet he does put before himself the belief that he is, in quietness, educating men to think clearly, that he is inspiring men to make a life rather than a livelihood, and that he is training leaders for the more public concerns which he is not privileged to undertake. These rewards are more precious than rubies. His class room becomes a gateway to the field of broad service. His chapel talks may be recalled in straightening out a battle line or in obeying a military command. His personal counsel may aid in planning a campaign, civil or military. These and similar rewards of the

college teacher — the real force in the American college — are also rewards which belong in their proper share to every trustee and benefactor. They are rewards, moreover, which are given to all who are privileged to aid in making the American college a teacher of wisdom in and for a democratic government and a creator of forces for service on land and sea, under the sea, and in the air.

VI

COLLEGE OFFICERS IN WAR SERVICE

The service offered by the officers of the colleges was quite as impressive as that rendered by the students and graduates. The enrollment was made up of professors of each department and by deans, presidents and other executives of every order. Of all departments, the medical naturally furnished the greatest proportion. Of every one hundred officers who entered the service more than one-half were found to be medical — physicians, surgeons and teachers. The assignment to their new work was usually made on the basis of their special training and preferences. Teachers of surgery became heads of surgical units in the field or in base hospitals. Teachers of bacteriology and of public health were enrolled as health commissioners in Roumania and Servia. Teachers of pathology set up their laboratories at Rouen. Teachers of ophthalmology were drafted as special examiners in the office of the surgeon general. Teachers of nervous diseases cared

for large areas of distressing illness in American camps and French cities. Teachers of dermatology gave their wisdom in criminal and other most serious problems. Teachers of pharmacology found abundant opportunities for the compounding of drugs. Teachers of pediatrics were busy with the problems which war creates in children. Teachers of physiology and psychology found the crises made by shell-shock most compelling. Teachers of preventive medicine were required to inspect drinking water and other health conditions as presented in many camps. In other fields than the medical, equally important services were given. Professors of botany were drafted into the examination of botanical war products and into work for the United States Agricultural Department. Professors of chemistry were called into chemical research; professors of physics into the study of methods for submarine protection; professors of transportation into work for the War Board; professors of anthropology into the laying out of camps; professors of forestry into experimenting on farms and in forests; professors of law into service as judge advocates; professors of politics and government into lecturing on patriotism; professors of lumbering into estimating the cost of building ships and camps; professors of French into teaching conversational French to nurses and doctors. Such

assignments were normal, natural and were also proved to be effective.

But other assignments were made, which were indeed less normal and proved to be far less effective. It is not hard to present examples. Professors of geology were commandeered as inspectors of fabrics. Professors of astronomy were made instructors in language. Professors of economics were selected as instructors in military science. In the early stages of the war, in France, under the democratic influence, discrimination of ability for duty was not practiced. A French professor of chemistry, the recipient of a Nobel prize, was in one instance made the guardian of a bridge. But in general, be it said, assignments were made with discrimination. It is to be added, moreover, that the power and worth manifested in one department of teaching and research often seemed to prepare the worker for service in a department apparently quite unlike or unrelated. The method of learning and of teaching was proved to be more important than the content of instruction. A mind well educated is able to turn itself with ease and effectiveness unto problems lying in other fields than those of its own peculiar cultivation. The higher education consists less in having learned than in ability to learn.

Both in the camp and on the campus, college

officers usually manifested a spirit of coöperation. This coöperation belonged, not only to members of their own class, but also to the class unacademic. Professors are usually individualists. In the war professors learned the art of team play, as thoroughly as the football team learns it on the gridiron. Professors are usually experts in their own field, and in no other. In the war they learned that their own scholarly attainments were to be united with the equally scholarly attainments of other experts. They learned to deal with all sorts and conditions of men: to be patient with both presumption and stupidity, to be forbearing with ignorance, to work with laziness, to be gracious toward selfishness,—in order to get the best results out of conditions favorable or unfavorable to one's immediate or remote purpose.

The duties thus assigned were usually done with both judgment and enthusiasm. One teacher, a professor in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology wrote: "Am very busy, with nothing but engines, gears and cranks and wheels from morning to night. It is easily the most interesting work I ever did. Ah, but this is the life. I am beginning to realize that I never lived before — and I may not live much longer. You don't know how it sets a man to thinking, when a heavy T. N. T. bomb drops near him in the night time in the streets of a great city. It does

not make him afraid; it simply makes him lose his respect for mankind.

“ But it is all for Liberty.” ¹

Another teacher having charge of French refugees wrote: “ But men may come and men may go, the stream of ‘ Rapatriés ’ goes on forever, with all its joy and pathos. Some 1,500 per day hereafter being absorbed into France and cared for tenderly by weary, plucky, courageous France, who has not begun to get to the limit of her resources, in my judgment, and would fight on for ten years, if necessary, paying whatever price is necessary for victory. . . . The French people go right on absorbing at the rate of 1,000 to 1,500 a day, the lame, the blind, the halt, the sick, the young and the old and the insane that Germany is sending them, including many other fine people, but no able-bodied men and very few able-bodied women, except those with small children. Have carried eighty-four people so far to-day, one hundred yesterday and more the day before.” ²

In the midst of this outpouring of loyal and of royal service on the part of the colleges and of individual teachers, were heard occasional notes of either rebelliousness or of indifference. Suspicions

¹ Letter from Professor Riley of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

² Wilmot V. Metcalf, *Fisk University News*, February, 1918, pages 18 and 19.

of disloyalty on the part of teachers were, though infrequently, held. Such suspicions gave the government reason for watchfulness. In certain instances, these suspicions proved to be unfounded. In other instances the evidence was sustained. Hugo Munsterberg, Professor of Psychology in Harvard University since the year 1892, a man born in Germany and educated in German institutions, at one time a professor in the University of Freiburg, was under constant surveillance. His death has not removed certain evidence of his coöperation with the Kaiser's government. The only instance that has come into the public notice, of the removal of a college executive, was found in the presidency of Baldwin-Wallace, a college of Ohio. After an investigation, made by a special committee of Methodist bishops — the college itself being of that denomination — the president was removed from office. The purpose of the removal was at least two-fold, to serve as a warning to academic executives and professors and also as a guarantee of the patriotism of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

In general, however, it is to be firmly said that the officers in the American college who remained at their desks and their duties were as loyal, and, some of them at least, as useful by address and essay, as well as by conferences and conventions, as their

brothers who went forth into the field, or who worked directly in their laboratories on munition formulas. They kept the academic home fires burning. They gave wisdom in counsel, strength to the will, and courage to the heart of the individual and of the community.

The contribution thus made by men and women, teachers in American colleges, was as diverse as the forces and conditions that constitute warfare or that compose the American college. The devotion thus given was of the highest quality. It stood at once for duty and for honor. Like their younger sons, they held not their own lives dear unto them. Some did not return to their desks or their books, and some of those who did return bear in body and in spirit the lasting marks of their inferno.

VII

THE SPIRIT OF THE STUDENT SOLDIER

The spirit of the student soldier who entered the service was one of intellectual understanding. He appreciated the issues personal, national and international, which were wrapped up in his enrollment and commitment. To this understanding and appreciation was added a willingness to do all and to be all essential to the securing of the war's ultimate purpose. One would hesitate to say that these great comprehensions were the property of the student only. They belonged to all citizens, yet it would not be unjust to intimate that the understanding made by him was at least as definite and considerate as that belonging to many. Of course the simple element of heroic enthusiasm and devotion is an integral part of all true and worthy men. Such a deposit is a common part of our common humanity.

In the mind and heart of the collegian was found a mighty determination to fight until the proper victory was won. The purpose was well put into some singing verses by a graduate of Western Reserve

University near the time of America's entrance. Edward Bushnell wrote these lines which were sung in many army camps:—

“UNCLE SAM”

1

So you've drawn your sword again, Uncle Sam!
You're lined up with fighting men, Uncle Sam!
For, when freedom is at stake,
You will fight for honor's sake;
And you'll fight till tyrants quake, Uncle Sam.

2

We know war is not your game, Uncle Sam.
'Twas at peace you made your fame, Uncle Sam.
And 'tis always with regret
That you make a war-like threat;
But they've never whipped you yet, Uncle Sam.

3

We will sail on all the seas, Uncle Sam,
Without saying “if” or “please,” Uncle Sam.
We'll not wear the Kaiser's tag,
And we'll fly no checkered rag,
For Old Glory is our flag, Uncle Sam.

4

Let the Eagle flap his wings, Uncle Sam.
These are sorry days for kings, Uncle Sam.
And the Kaiser and his crew
Will be missing, when they're through
With the old Red, White and Blue, Uncle Sam.

5

We are ready now to serve, Uncle Sam.
We have money, men and nerve, Uncle Sam.
We will stick through thick and thin,
Till we show them in Berlin
That with God we're going to win, Uncle Sam.

Such verses were expressive of the grip of the will of the college man to fight it through whether it took all summer or all winter.

Both before and after enlisting the simple democracy of the army was made plain. This democracy belonged in the first place to the privates in the ranks. Of course, a lack of democracy characterized the relationship between the officers on the one hand and the privates on the other; but equality and fraternity did distinguish those of similar military condition. Among the men in the ranks, the human was the chief note of their song. A British mother wrote in the preface to "A Midshipman's Log" saying, that among those who are fighting for their country and for the triumph of right and justice, there could be no class or distinction. The members of the privileged class were privileged only in being leaders — first in the field, and foremost at the post of danger.¹

A son, too, of distinguished American parentage

¹ "From Dartmouth to the Dardanelles — A Midshipman's Log" — edited by his mother, page viii.

bore out of his experience similar testimony. Victor Chapman wrote in September of the year 1914 saying: "The people I am thrown with are, for the moment, Polish in majority, for they are a crowd which came together from Cambrai. But they are of almost all nationalities and all stations and ages of life. I am most friendly with a little Spaniard from Malaga. He has been a newspaper reporter in London and got tired of doing nothing there, so he enlisted here. So far as I have seen I am the only American (the others having been sent to Rouen a day or two before I enlisted), but I have seen a couple of negroes. There are about thirty Alsatians, a few Russians and a few Belgians, one or two Germans, a Turk, and even a Chinaman arrived this morning. There are Greeks and Russian Jews, and probably many I have not noticed."¹ His experience illustrates the remark in the New Testament that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

The whole college order was also pervaded by great sympathy for the suffering, the sorrowing, the afflicted; and not only with those who were thus sadly conditioned, but also for all men as men. With this sympathy was united a mighty desire for

¹ "Victor Chapman's Letters from France" with Memoir by John Jay Chapman, page 45.

power to serve. Deep emotional excitement may atrophy, in weak natures, the force of the will. Such a cutting of the nerves is not liable, however, to occur in the experience of college men; for they have been tempered in the schools not only of learning, but also of observation, of suffering, and of rejoicing. An American schoolmaster wrote from an American hospital in France of his routine: "I begin every night at eight and work twelve hours without stopping a moment. I wouldn't miss it for the world. We've taken everything in the way of wounded, mostly Americans, but also French, Moroccans, Malays, and all conditions from slightly wounded to the pitifully maimed remnants of human life, wrecked beyond all hope. I have been stretcher bearer, have helped undress and bathe the wounded, taken them to the X-ray room, and to the operating table, held their hands while ether was administered, and at the bedside, getting them ready for the rest camps farther back. In all this labor of love, which is real work, I have heard not one murmur of complaint, only words of enthusiasm and a desire to get back into the game. People say they are 'magnificent,' but we have no word yet coined to describe the spirit of our fighting and wounded soldiers. It is beyond analysis and almost divine. It makes you want to drop on your knees and thank

God for the power he puts into his children to bear their suffering with such fortitude and courage. One longs for arms of limitless extent to take the whole blessed lot of them next to his heart and tell them how proud is America and the whole world of their valor and strength, and how all of us love them and are determined that they shall win. I have learned to pray as I never prayed before for power to see this glorious work through to the end, power to be of the utmost service to our men and their brothers whose ideals are ours, and but for whose tremendous sacrifice and heroic defense the human wolves would have been at our own doors. Folks at home do not realize that the war is on, but here in a military hospital! Oh God, it's here we get the taste! I am going every night till I leave the front.

“School teaching isn't in it with this work. To kneel before a hero and untie his shoes, and to get a smile from a wounded man lying between sheets for the first time in seven months; to get a word of thanks from one to whom you have given a tin cup of black coffee, is a greater reward than all the pay that all the combined schools in the United States could give. We are all working our very heads and feet off. I can't write more now, though I am so full of it I am nearly bursting. I must get some

rest for the long night ahead." Such a union of sympathy with a power to relieve the wounded and to give succor to the dying was the not infrequent experience of the best college soldiers.

The simple joy and exultation of it all seemed to belong with a peculiar rapture to the college man. One of distinguished name wrote to his sister: "I hadn't realized until lately what a wealth of thrill, and tense joy, I had been missing in the tame student days. Whenever a flare or star shell lights up No Man's Land at night, turning every twig and stone into crystal, sharply outlined against a jet black sky and ground, it gives me a feeling of wonder and throbbing excitement that is different from anything else. I hope it will not become ordinary too soon."

Yet, in this exultation of the soldier, the student easily habituated himself to things as they come and go. He became a worshiper at the altar of the God of things as they are. The outer service seemed to transform the inner man. He is not what he was. The following confession of a Harvard man, purposely made anonymously, is almost as representative as it is impressive: "Until last winter I was, I suppose, what most of the world calls a rich young man. That is to say, I had enough money to avoid worry about the ordinary luxuries of life. A great many doors of society were open to me by reason of

long-formed family associations. I went to a very fashionable boarding-school, and afterwards to a large university.

“ My chief interests were æsthetic ones, and my college days, aside from the friendships of them, were valued accordingly. I studied hard enough to keep a keen interest in these things, and what I didn't know, I ‘bluffed.’ Society is gullible. I talked about Zuloaga twice before I saw his paintings. With beautiful fluency and complete ignorance I discussed the ‘ Agamemnon ’ of Aeschylus, the ‘ Thoenissac ’ of Euripedes, hydraulic machinery, the Shinto religion, St. Paul, the Russian government. It made no difference; I knew a little, I bluffed superbly, and I revelled in the joy of ‘ holding ’ dinner tables. So you see how it was — everything to look forward to, little to regret. Life was good; friends were many.

“ When the war came I was considering literature as a profession. I tried for a commission immediately, but unfortunately missed it. Influence didn't work. So now I'm a ‘ buck ’ private.

“ I sleep in a tent, stand in line in any weather for ‘chow.’ I dress, because my work demands it, most of the time in overalls, and I do what I'm told. I have emptied garbage cans and cuspidors, chopped wood, shovelled coal, dug holes, done clerical work

and carpentering work. I have been yelled at by irate 'non-coms' for being a fool.

"They were quite right. A fool is one who is ignorant, you see. I can tell you things about the meals at Agathon's house, when Socrates dined, and drank from the wine cooler, but I had no idea until quite recently how to do a great many of the jobs I've mentioned. I remember reading, by the way, F. W. Taylor's 'Principles of Scientific Management.' It tells you among other things, how to shovel with a minimum of effort and for a maximum of results. But when you are one of three men who are getting coal out of a freight-car that must be moved in two hours and a half, you forget what he said or wonder if he ever shovelled. Of course, I drilled awkwardly too. They were quite right — I was a fool.

"The physical hardships of such a life one quickly becomes used to. If it is cold, you learn to sleep with your clothes on. If there is no chance to bathe, why, of course, you don't bathe. If you get wet, you curse a bit, and remark to your nearest neighbor that you are 'out of luck.' This phrase embodies almost the complete philosophy of enlisted men. It's not so unsatisfactory; it has the virtue of truth. And if you're not fatalistic enough to accept the verity that you are, and are going to be, either in or out of

luck, the remark may be used perfectly correctly as a consolatory, flattering, or challenging comment — or simply as a pleasantry. Indeed life is reduced to almost a purely physical basis. Obedience is required, but intellect sufficient only for obedience.

“ The ethics of the men in the ranks are a fair enough sort. They do not allow much meanness; they preach generosity and obligingness. But they do include, not necessarily of course, blasphemy, foulness, intoxication. It's up to the gods, the average soldier thinks, whether you are what can fairly be termed a good man. As long as you do what you're told, your morale may be what you please, Caligulan or Christian. Of course there is little of the spiritual in camp. You may have loved Dante's ‘Inferno,’ but you read wireless code-books or Captain Parker's notes. You realize that Dante lived a very long time ago; and that he is dead. You remember arguments you had in college, near some hospitable fire, about Plato's idea of the Abstract or Thomas Aquinas's of Immortality. Omar's line comes back to you — you did ‘come out by the same door that in you went.’ The four brown walls of canvas are still around you. The concrete remains. It doesn't matter if you would like to go to the little French restaurant with so-and-so, and talk about ‘Comus’ or what a shabby way Bacon treated Essex.

‘Fall Out.’ You proceed to do so, and are armed with a shovel, or a bucket or a monkey-wrench.”¹

This spirit of adjustment is a part of the American quality, but the American quality is much more. It is a quality of exultation and exhilaration. The American spirit is the intellectual quality touched by enthusiasm. A student who was accepted by the Foreign Legion of the French Army, writes to a professor in his college: “Your poilu has burst his cocoon and stands glittering before the world — an Aspirant. He is proud of himself — and more at peace than ever before in his life. . . .

“You ask me to tell you the commonest events of my life. I doubt whether that will be possible, for I have chosen a 75 attacking battery, but I shall keep a moment-to-moment journal for you and for others to whom I am not afraid to reveal myself. If I get through safely we’ll laugh over it — and if I pass out, it will be sent to you.

“Before this reaches you I shall be at the front. I regret that it will not be with my own. . . . They are wonderful, and Europe is breathing a new air because of them. They have the vision — and the dreams of old men are coming true. I wish I could tell you the great pride and faith and elation the

¹ Notes of a “Buck” Private — *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, 14th Feb., 1918.

recognition of their spirit gives us. To be an American is to-day the proudest thing in the world. But even when one is not fighting as one of them — even though he wears another color, he is fighting with the American spirit and the American dream. Do you wonder that I am perfectly at peace with myself?

“It is with such emotions that I go to the front. Think of me as having believed something passionately enough not to have accepted rejections, as having found a place for myself when it was refused me time and again, as going into the fire with head up and laughing lips because I am an officer of France and an American. And if I’m killed don’t call me ‘poor fellow.’ I shall deserve better than that.”¹

Such enthusiasm is representative, interpretative, and contagious. It might give the impression of being transient like the white crest of the breaking wave, but it was really more sustaining and proved to be more permanent than seemed possible. The student soldier took the long look and also did the nearest duty. A North Carolina student wrote to the president of his university, Dr. Graham, a beloved president who died recently, saying: “I

¹ Letter from an officer of France and an American to Professor Charles T. Copeland, Harvard University.

am about to leave for France, aware what going there means, and glad to go. Before I go I want to send my love to you and Carolina, because you two both send me and at the same time make me hate to go, because I cherish you with the same love I bear my parents. I am not a single-purposed man; if I have one dominant desire I don't recognize it. But the resultant of all my desires to live and to serve is a purpose to fit myself to come back and serve through Carolina. This purpose I have, of course, subordinated to what the army may require of me until peace is won. But I am fighting to stop Germany, and not for the joy of fighting. I hate war and its whole stupid machinery as much as I love its opposite — the free creative life of Carolina. I don't intend to run from the fact that war is wrong any more than I intend to run from war itself because it is painful.

“Therefore, while I am glad to serve in this war, I still maintain that peace is right and that it must be developed by training and organizing man for peace even better than he is now trained and organized for war.”

The spirit of the American student soldier was quite akin to the spirit of the men of Oxford and other British universities, of the University of Paris, and of the provincial universities of France. All

were touched by the same patriotic enthusiasms, by the same sense of romance and of freedom. These sentiments were, be it confessed, like unto the sentiments of the German university students in their love of "Fatherland." But how remote were these enthusiasms from the Germanic in their sense of freedom! For the Anglo-Saxon has been trained in a school of personal honor and of truth-telling. The English and the Americans have been taught to hate spying and lying and to despise the spy and the liar. The English and Americans have been trained to play games and to take part in sport, not simply as hygienic conditions, but for and of manliness. They have been educated in the atmosphere of freedom; and the German student has been trained in the prison house of unquestioning obedience to the state.

It was a great spirit which dwelt in the heart of the soldier student and which prompted him to noblest action. It was a spirit of intellectual understanding and of emotional appreciation of the issues of the war. It was also a spirit of willingness to make the ultimate sacrifice to win its victory. No determination was mightier than to stay in the service until barbarism was put down and civilization again enthroned. In this determination was found the spirit of democracy strong and regnant, a democracy not American only, but also human. In this

sense of equality and of liberty was found not only a tender sympathy with the suffering and sorrowing, but also a sympathy which did not weaken the will for hardest service. In this sympathy lay also a peculiar rapture, an exultation in the opportunity to serve; and with this rapture went along a capacity for transformation of the lower manhood into the higher, a transformation characteristic of the best natures. The enthusiasm also, although not always keeping itself at white heat, seems to have been consistent with a prophetic outlook into humanity's future. The college man was in the ranks, as in the class-room, primarily the man of thought and of thoughtfulness. Putting on the uniform, he did not divest himself of his intellectual habit.

In this spirit of exultation, both emotional and intellectual, the student soldier lent himself to the primary element, military discipline. He gave himself to this process with more ease than the untrained man of his adolescent years. For, the college course itself was a process more disciplinary than the process of the home. Discipline represents not only obedience, but also the sinking of one's own individuality into a mass of individualities. Not always with ease, but with less of rebellion than usually exists, he submitted to the rules and regulations of the camp by day and by night. Not only to obedience as a first

duty, but also to cleanliness, to honesty, to sobriety, to self-respect and other of the principal elements of discipline, he found himself in not unhappy accord. Of course, the soldier students, in many instances, became officers. As officers, they bore themselves as gentlemen. War is a brutalizer. The processes preparatory for and following the battle are brutalizing. Officers are inclined to be coarse in language, severe in their manners, abrupt and harsh in general relationships to the private. Such methods and manners were, on the whole, foreign to the student soldier. He had a sense of altruism above men unschooled. This sense, of course, he exercised without the peril of softness or of favoritism. He could be at once gracious and commanding, kind and severe, sympathetic and disciplinary. He was not inclined to create that most common element of the army, the element of fear. For fear as an inspiring force, he used the proper substitutes of pride in one's regiment or one's battalion, idealism, and enthusiasm for the cause. Comradeship, too, he cultivated, and, that element of the soldier in every man, hero-worship, he inspired, not so much for himself, of course, as for the highest commanders.

VIII

THE SCIENCES AND THE SCIENTISTS

The war was a war waged by scientists and through the sciences. The principles of the sciences were its principles. The methods of the sciences were its methods. The conditions attending research and applications of the results of research were its conditions. The two chief new forms of attack, the submarine and the airplane, had their origin in the science of physics, and the use of these machines was determined by the laws of physics. Every gun of a battery was loaded with compounds made according to the laws of chemistry, and it was aimed and discharged in accordance with the laws of trigonometry. The making of every trench and the explosion of every mine was settled by the laws of geology and of other sciences. The manufacture of every gas followed the principles of chemical action and reaction, and the methods of protection against the perils of gas were determined by chemical and physical investigations. Even the healing of the wounds on the arm, back, and chest was measured, and a prognosis made, to a certain degree by

the laws of mathematics. Such a fundamental use of scientific principles belonged quite as much to Germany as to the United States and the Allies. In fact, in certain relations, as in the use of gas, Germany anticipated her enemies. She mobilized her professors of chemistry and of physics in her military service much earlier than did the Allies, as she mobilized her troops ahead of her foes. But the scientists of Great Britain, France, and the United States were, when the summons came, no less prompt, no less efficient, and no less enthusiastic, than the professors of Berlin and Leipsic. For the very first time, the chemists, the physicists, the mathematicians, the geologists were given an opportunity of devoting all their technical skill and scientific resources to the service of their nation and humanity. They sprang as one strong man to meet the demand and to embrace the opportunity.

The scientists who thus threw their personalities, their services and their laboratories into the war, were usually teachers in American colleges and universities. Members of the research staff in industrial plants were no less eager in their offers, no less patriotic in their self-sacrificing contributions, and their number was large. But directly as well as indirectly the college teachers formed the great bulk of the scientific army, who in permanent laboratories or

extemporized plants worked for their government.

In the work of the scientists were found two fundamental and comprehensive elements: — first, the element of the formation of groups of scholars for research, and, second, the coöperation of these groups. Perhaps the most important of all the research groups was that which was composed of scholars like Merritt of Cornell, Mason of Wisconsin, Wilson of Rice Institute, Pierce and Bridgman of Harvard, Bumstead, Nichols and Zeleny of Yale, and Michelson of Chicago.¹ These outstanding professors were asked to find devices for avoiding many dangers, of which the submarine peril was the most serious. This service,—the cost of which amounted to more than one million dollars — had so proved its value that after a few months it was taken over by the Navy Department.

This group and similar groups associated themselves with other bodies engaged also in scientific exploration and discovery. The Science and Research Division and the Signal Corps, the Bureau of Aircraft Production, the Meteorological Section of the Science and Research Division, are names which, important in themselves, represent the coöperation of highly trained specialists, formed largely of col-

¹ The New Opportunity in Science, Professor R. A. Millikan, published in *Science*, No. 1291, page 288.

lege men, who worked together unto great results.

Such groups and such coöperation were not, by any manner of means, confined to the United States. The French, English, and Italian scientists were in constant coöperation, both in person, by post and by cable, over devices which proved to be of the highest worth.

Of all the sciences, however, chemistry was in this war the first well equipped scientific force in the field. It was an epoch-making day in the history of the war and in the history of applied chemistry, when the Chemical Service Section was formed as a unit of the National Army. The foundation was laid in Washington, soon after the formal entrance of the United States, at a conference of members of the General Staff, Medical Corps and War College, with Navy and civilian chemists. Its chief was Lieutenant Colonel W. H. Walker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It chose for its colors, the colors of the American Chemical Society,—cobalt blue and gold, and it adopted for its insignia the traditional alembic of alchemy joined with the benzene ring.

Thus organized the chemists served in many relations. They became members of the General Staff and were in charge of all forms of the gas warfare, which included research, manufacturing and testing.

They were made members of the Ordnance Department. In this relationship they were concerned with the solving of problems touching explosives from the moment of the beginning of making to the moment of testing and of discharge. This service was rendered at many points from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi. Coöperation was had with laboratories of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, of the University of Michigan and of other institutions. The chemists also had a share in the work of the office of the surgeon general. Questions of food, of nutrition and of sanitation were committed to them. At the Harriman Laboratory, the spoiling of meat was a special problem considered. At the University of Rochester, the effect of temperature on desiccated vegetables was made a particular question.

These services were rendered to the Army on the land. The service rendered through chemists to the Navy were also as significant, even if the number engaged was smaller. In the Ordnance Bureau of the Navy about one hundred chemists were enrolled. In the War Trade Board, the Shipping Board, the Food Administration Board, the Tariff Commission, were also found chemists giving the unique service which each department demanded.

In hundreds of chemical laboratories on the campus of as many colleges, professors were enrolled un-

der government direction, pursuing researches which might add to the power of the government as a fighting machine. These researches covered in an incidental way many of the problems which were comprehensively examined in the formal laboratories of the government. While professors were pursuing their work in a more or less regular way as members of the teaching staff, they were also practically enrolled as soldiers of the National Army.

It is ever to be remembered that the thousands of men engaged formally and informally in the chemical branch of the war, were originally trained in the colleges and that many of them were permanent members of faculties. They represented no small share of the contribution made to the war by the higher education.

A similar interpretation belongs to the yet broader field of physics. In this field physicists, teachers in American colleges, bore an equally important part. In the multitude of instances one selects representative examples. One conspicuous example is found in the airplane. An American scholar and teacher has personally said:

“At the outbreak of the war the airplane was a toy operated by an engine which was none too reliable and which could develop only 80 horse-power; to-day we have an airplane which is a piece of engineering driven by one or

more engines each capable of developing 400 horse-power; and this modern wonder is capable of carrying 50 passengers while another now building will carry 100. During the war the airplanes flew from London to Constantinople and back, on bombing raids, making non-stop flights of over 1,000 miles; during the year 1918, 16,000 Liberty engines were produced: a special cotton fabric and a thin sheet steel were developed to take the place of the linen formerly used on the wings; speeds up to 140 miles per hour have been recorded and the unheard of height of 29,000 feet reached which latter achievement, by the way, opens up new possibilities in the study of meteorology. The monthly fatality average has been one fatality for each 3,200 hours flown.

“Much progress has been made with the dirigible type of airship thanks to the discovery of a cheap non-inflammable gas as a substitute for the dangerous hydrogen. This gas, helium, first discovered on the sun, was produced before the war at a cost of \$1,500–\$1,600 per cubic foot; it is now found in such large quantities in the natural gas of some of the southwestern states that the cost of production per cubic foot is about \$100; if this supply continues to hold out there is a great future for the airship.

“It goes without saying that the theory of aviation has been placed upon a much better foundation because of the thousands of experiments it has been possible to make; efforts at stabilizing are meeting with success and considerable improvement in the various instruments used has been made.”

Another American physicist, Professor Joseph S. Ames of Johns Hopkins University, writing before the signing of the armistice, of two great additions to the weapons of attack said:

"There are two main problems in connection with the submarine, first, to locate it, second to destroy it. Methods of destruction are at hand in the shape of depth bombs; but methods of detection so far have not been eminently successful. From an airplane one can see through the water only to a limited depth, never more than twenty feet, and so the main reason why the sea-planes have been so successful in destroying submarines is not due to the fact that the observer in the airplane discovers his prey, but is that his machine has such great speed, three times that of a destroyer, that when news is flashed that a vessel is being attacked by a submarine it can often reach the spot in time to drop its bomb effectively. The detection of the presence of a submarine is a definite physical problem; and it is not an exaggeration to say that at least one-fourth of the physicists of note in England, France and this country have been engaged in the attempt to solve it. What lines of attack upon it are open? Not many. The submarine in motion emits certain sounds; can they be heard? It is a solid body; can one obtain an echo from it? It is made of iron; can this fact help through some magnetic action? These are the obvious lines of approach, but one should not hastily conclude that there are not others. Without stating, and I may not, how far successful these efforts of the physicists have been, I may note that the method which is now being tested by our Navy is one elaborated by a distinguished professor of mathematical physics."¹

There were, moreover, certain special adaptations or applications of physics which proved to be of great

¹ Annual address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, University of Virginia, 1918. *Science*, 25th Oct., 1918.

worth. The whole art of surveying was changed by the war. An operator with a camera in an airplane can, it was proved, in less than a minute make a complete map of a section of country, even at as great a height as four miles. In meteorology, it was proved that balloons can be made to have a speed of even a hundred miles an hour and fly a distance of more than a thousand miles. The Research Division of the Meteorologists proved that the upper regions of the air can be measured and mapped out,— facts that are of the utmost value to the aviator.

Physicists, too, accomplished great results in the art of signalling. In this complex and unique art special use was made of the infra-red and the ultra-violet rays, which are invisible. Great improvements were also made in the wireless telegraph and the wireless telephone. The sound waves from the guns of the enemy were used to locate their position, within one per cent. of the true place. Physicists were also concerned with the development of armor plate, with the art of camouflage, with improvements in photography, and with the discovery and application of the German methods for the production of dye stuffs, and in the making of optical glass.

The physicists who thus contributed to the winning of the war were usually members of the teaching

staffs of American colleges, and, like the chemists, they represented the personal contribution which the cause of higher learning offered.

Less superficially evident, but no less fundamentally useful, than the services of the mathematician, of the chemist and of the physicist was the service of the geologist and the geographer. Their work comprised several groups of activities. Such activities were of course given by British and French scholars as well as by American. They were advisers of the Military Staff of the British armies in Palestine, at Gallipoli and in Greece. The German army early in the war installed geologists in the army organization. Geologists served as consultants on the topographic conditions touching strategy. They were made explorers for water. To find this supply became as hard and as important a problem in densely peopled Flanders as it was in Palestine and Syria. They offered counsel regarding proper conditions for excavations and mining operations, kept close watch of underground waters (always liable to rise or fall), a constant problem, not only in wet weather but also in drouth. It has been said that it was the skill of the geologists who planned the location of fifty or more mines placed in the Messines Ridge, which resulted in their successful explosion. They were consultants for supplies of material for roads,

regarding foundations for positions for the artillery and regarding proper conditions of camp sanitation.

The United States Geological Survey in coöperation with the War Industries Board, Bureau of Mines, Shipping Board, Bureau of Standards and other organizations gave invaluable aid in promoting research and advancing various activities, both large and of detail. The finding of manganese ore, the importation of which had ceased, and of sulphuric supplies, high grade clay for special purposes, chromite, potassium, pyrite for making sulphuric acid, represented this important and diverse service.

Geologists and geographers were also employed in many training camps in making and reading maps, and in teaching students in these arts. In the literary field reports on the topography and geology of each cantonment were made, not only for immediate information, but also for the purpose of training officers to secure similar knowledge for the future location of camps. The literary service of the geographers, physiographers and cartographers was of such great value that at least a quartet of them were made members of the Paris Peace Council.¹

As in the case of other scientists, the credit for

¹ Professor J. E. Hyde, of Western Reserve University, has contributed many facts regarding the service of geologists and geographers.

the contribution offered by geologists was ultimately due to the colleges. The colleges trained these men for their great service and in the colleges not a few of them were permanent teachers.

Of all the offerings made by the American universities to the great cause, the contributions of the medical schools were, if not more useful, at least more impressive.

The service, of course, had its foundation in the professional training given for decades previous to 1917, as well as in the training of the years covering the war itself. The service rendered was supported by the great improvement of the medical schools in the decade preceding the outbreak of the war. This improvement was greater than had occurred in the preceding half century. Regarding the medical service of the war and in the education lying behind this service, a competent interpreter has written:—

“The most important factor in the efficiency of a medical school is the maintenance of an efficient personnel in the teaching staff. Hence, in addition to oversight of distribution of medical practitioners to care for the health of the civilian population, and the securing of medical officers to care for the sick and wounded of the army, the surgeon general must maintain effective teaching staffs in all those medical

schools which were serving as training schools for the future medical officers.

“However it was necessary to secure the service in the army of every competent and physically fit medical man who could be spared from the care of the civilian population and from the training of students. The army had need of highly trained experts in many fields of medicine, especially in hospital and camp laboratories and in certain of the medical and surgical specialties. It was well known before the war, and was more apparent after the war began, that on the whole the best men in their various lines were on the teaching staffs of some medical school. This was true because the medical school in each community seeks the best men of that community and also because medical men who are teaching are stimulated to greater effort to become more expert, both by study and by investigation, than are the men in practice who are deprived of the stimulus of being associated with students and a teaching institution.

“It soon became apparent that if the army were permitted to take all the experts it desired, then the schools would be stripped of a large part of their best teachers, and as a result the members of the Medical Enlisted Reserve Corps who were left in the schools for the sole purpose of being adequately trained for future service in the army would get an

inefficient training because of the lack of experienced good teachers.

“Hence the War Department diminished its early efforts to bring into the army men who were teachers in medical schools. This did not solve the problem, for it was soon apparent that the best teachers were extremely patriotic and desired to serve their country and further, that they believed they should go into the army rather than remain as teachers in the medical schools. The psychology of the situation was evident, especially when emphasized by the public attitude toward able-bodied men who were not in uniform. Some plan was needed whereby the teaching staffs of the medical schools should not be impaired to such extent that there would be a resulting deterioration in the training of the students.”¹

As a result the government allowed each medical school to retain the teachers who were essential to the carrying on of the school. Such men were regarded as serving their nation quite as effectively as if they had gone to a hospital in France. The contribution of the medical schools, through their graduates, teachers, and students, made to the winning of the war, represented no less than 30,000, physicians and surgeons. Of this great number, about one-

¹ Personal letter from Professor Frederick C. Waite, of Western Reserve University Medical School.

half graduated within the decade preceding their entrance, about 10,000 between the years 1899-1908, and 5,000 before the year 1899. Essentially they were all young men. The contribution which the medical schools thus made was of course of the utmost worth. In numbers the thirty thousand enrollments represented slightly more than one-fifth of all the practicing physicians.¹

In the development of the American medical service no less than six university base hospital units were established in France. In fact, as early as December 28th, 1914, a body of surgeons, nurses, and anesthetists from Western Reserve University and its allied Lakeside Hospital sailed for France to serve with the Allied forces, and, after the declaration of war in 1917, it was a similar body which was ordered into similar service. Later, King George, at Buckingham Palace, addressing this unit, said, "We greet you as the first detachment of the American Army which has landed on our shores since your great Republic resolved to join in the world-struggle for the ideals of civilization. We deeply appreciate this prompt and generous response to our needs. It is characteristic of the humanity and chivalry which has ever been evinced by the Ameri-

¹ For the U. S., the whole was 147,812, and for the Dependencies, 1,319.

can nation that the first assistance rendered to the Allies is in connection with the profession of healing and the work of mercy."

The officers of these various university units gave most efficient service at the front, as well as behind the lines. A single one of these university hospital units cared for more than sixty-eight thousand sick and wounded men. Not only was such personal, direct care given, but also scientific research groups were formed among the surgeons and physicians and their associates. The causes and the prevention of the diverse diseases and sicknesses to which the soldiers were subjected received careful attention. Every wounded man became a specific problem. The comparative value of different methods of treatment was the object of constant inquiry. The study of shock and exhaustion occupied no small share of the attention of the research staff. The shielding of the ear against the effect of explosives, the defensive use of gasses, the sterilization of water in all the camps, the saving of soldiers from the constant peril of typhoid fever — a peril which was specially virulent for the first men of the war — are examples of the diverse service given by medical professors.

In every branch of the service, the element of industrial fatigue played an important part. The scarcity of labor of every sort made it of extreme im-

portance that each laborer be permanently kept at his highest efficiency. The physiologist was therefore constantly called upon to quicken those who were underworking and to restrain those who were guilty of overwork.

“It would appear,” says Doctor George W. Crile, to whom I am indebted for certain of these interpretations, “that the service of the medical departments of our universities during the great war would justify a permanent organization whereby the members of our university medical schools would become a permanent part of our national defense. Our eighty university schools thus organized would cover the hospital needs of an army of approximately 3,200,000. By means of such an organization it would be possible for the Surgeon General to establish his military point of view in the training of all worthy medical men. By such a collective effort an American medical force could be established ready for practical application in time of national need.”

And yet the experiences of the medical schools in the war time gave ground for the interpretation that there are serious deficiencies in these schools, and consequently in their graduates. The war proved that the schools had not educated their students in what is known as physical diagnosis, and also the

war proved that there is a great ignorance of hygiene and of the fundamental conditions of public health. It was also shown that no small share of the physicians, who claimed to be specialists, had not received adequate training. But, despite these facts, the contribution made was a necessary part of the great effort for winning the war.

The service of the medical schools was by no means confined to the traditional conditions of caring for the sick and the wounded and of the promotion of good hygienic forces in the battle area. The medical schools, directly or indirectly, provided men and equipment for important commissions to devastated lands. These commissions were concerned with Servia, Russia, with the Balkan Provinces, including Roumania, and with the countries of the near East. They bore offerings beneficent, as well as unique, offerings which in their origin were made by the schools of medicine and their affiliated hospitals. The needs which these commissions filled were of inexpressible value.

A member of the delegation, which went to Roumania in the year of 1917, Doctor Roger G. Perkins of Western Reserve University, has indicated the seriousness of the condition in Roumania. He says:

“Everything tangible in the way of supplies had been commandeered for military purposes, all physi-

cians up to the age of sixty-five had been mobilized, and most of the assistants in the civil hospitals had been taken into war service. As a result of this one-sided arrangement, fairly active measures were being taken among the troops in the way of delousing, isolation of patients, and so forth, so that the actual incidence in the war zone was low. Among the civil population, however, there was practically nothing being done except in the larger centers, and these were so frightfully overcrowded that even the best of intentions were unable to accomplish much. The city of Jassy, for instance, with a normal population of sixty thousand, was housing nearly three hundred thousand, and other towns were crowded in similar proportion. There were insufficient food and insufficient clothing and insufficient hospital supplies and drugs, and when anything was at hand, the best of it went to the military. In the rural districts which were most removed from the fighting lines, things were comparatively normal, though the insufficiency of food and clothing was evident. Nearer the fighting lines, however, on account partly of the great difficulties of transportation, the conditions were very serious. In addition to the armies of defense, there was a large number of refugees from the occupied districts and also a number of persons evacuated from homes on the Allied side which were under

German fire. For the care of these people, there was practically no provision whatever, and, although the season was still early and the weather warm enough to prevent the crowding together, which occurs always in the winter periods, cases of typhus were being noted sporadically all over the country. It was clear that, with the onset of colder weather and without active measures, there was a chance for a repetition of the previous epidemic in which 100,000 were said to have died."

To meet such conditions, the commission adopted the following methods:

"First, to make all military baths, hospitals, and disinfectors available for civil as well as military population; second, to detach from military service a sufficient number of physicians with previous experience in civil work to have a special care of the civil population of the country; third, that as far as the epidemic went, a man should be appointed with proper experience who should be in general control of the entire work and have accessibility to all supplies whether civil or military."

The methods adopted were proved, after more than a year of their application, to have been effective. For, despite difficulties and hindrances and constant appeals, it was made evident that thousands

were saved from typhus infections and that the nation was spared a heavy toll of death.

Lamentable as was the condition of Roumania, the condition of Servia was still more pitiable. To Servia, near the close of the war, a commission was sent, composed of professors in medical schools who, through one of their number, made the following report:

“There never had been enough doctors in the country, a large number of these had been killed during the war, and in 1919 there were so few that many parts of the country had one physician to 75,000 or more persons. With the difficulties of transportation made much worse by the destruction of roads and bridges during the war, this meant that the greater part of Servia was totally without medical service of any sort.

“It was accordingly arranged to establish small groups of doctors and nurses, as far as possible in association with relief stations, and to have these units care for emergency medical work with the distinct understanding that they should give, as far as possible, primary education in public health matters. No elaborate program was possible on account of the lack of education and the impossibility of any intensive propaganda. On this basis, some twenty-

five stations were established throughout Servia manned with American personnel. They were everywhere most heartily welcomed, and every facility which the war-ridden country could furnish them was put at their disposal. To have left the country and abandoned the work at the end of June, 1919, as was originally planned, would have been a serious error for the Red Cross and a misfortune for the people. After consulting with the Servian authorities and with the heads of the Balkan Commission and the Commission for Europe, the Red Cross decided to retain about half of these stations for a period of at least a year, under American personnel. This action was necessary because the Servians actually lacked physicians and obviously could not obtain more without leaving several years for their instruction, unless they had assistance from outside. In Roumania and Greece, on the other hand, the actual possible supply of medical men was adequate if properly distributed. The pathetic appreciation of our efforts in the medical line and the friendly feeling towards America in the villages to which our work was accessible, constituted probably the greatest potential influence for good of any of the relations between the Red Cross and the Balkan people."

In the service of science in prosecuting and win-

ning the war, the function of agriculture was constant and vital. In this field the work done through the so-called "Land Grant Colleges" established by the Morrill Act of 1862 was of tremendous significance. This pregnant Act together with subsequent legislation of the National Congress had caused a vast development in agriculture throughout the West. Of the conditions the Secretary of Agriculture, David F. Houston, wrote:

"The Land-grant Colleges and experiment stations are without parallel. They are 67 in number, have a total valuation of endowment, plant, and equipment of \$195,000,000; and income of more than \$45,000,000, with 5,900 teachers; a resident student body of over 75,000, and a vast number receiving extension instruction. Their great ally, the Department of Agriculture, is unquestionably the greatest practical and scientific agricultural organization in the world. It has a staff of more than 20,000 people, many of them highly trained experts, and a budget of approximately \$65,000,000."¹

And further Dr. Houston said:—

"The department and its great allies, the Land-grant Colleges, immediately proceeded to redirect their activities and to put forth all their energies in the most promising directions. In a conference of the agricultural leaders of the nation in St. Louis, called just before the United States entered the war, a program for further organization, legislation and action with reference to production,

¹ *Science*, September 13, 1918, page 260.

conservation and marketing was drawn up, the principle features of which have been enacted into law without substantial change or have been put into effect. This prompt and effective handling of the situation was made possible by reason of the fact that the American people, generations before, had wisely laid the foundations of many agricultural institutions and had with increasing liberality supported their agricultural agencies.”¹

The scientific contributions therefore; made by Great Britain, France and the United States for the winning of the war were as broad, diverse, and fundamental as the cause of science itself. The professors in academic faculties became officers of the National Army. The equipment in chemistry, geology, physics and other sciences were, so far as necessary, transferred to the government. The coöperation of teachers of these sciences was marked. Their co-working in making airplanes and in methods of signalling was peculiarly significant. New laboratories were built and manned by college teachers. Researches in manifold fields were instituted. Science became, in a word, mobilized in the service of democracy and of humanity. The part that science played in former wars had been slight. The place that science may fill in future wars is unknown. It is probable that through biology and bacteriology a greater function will be performed, but the place

¹ Ibid., page 261.

of science in at least five of its great divisions in the great war is secure. Its contributions stand forth fostered and nourished by the college as of unique significance and imperishable value.

IX

THE WOMEN'S COLLEGES

Florence Nightingale remains as the type of the war-time nurse. But a broader and more important form of women's service this war brought forth than the "Lady with the Lamp" could ever picture. The American college for women represented and embodied this service.

The number of colleges open to women of the three ordinary types, co-educational, co-ordinate, separate, is about five hundred. The co-educational and the co-ordinate colleges made first-rate contributions, but the colleges for women alone, by reason of their more individual organization, gave a service yet more distinctive. Throughout the far-flung crisis, the graduates, the officers and the students of these colleges rendered several types of service.

Be it at once said that the colleges for women, like the colleges for men, directly on the outbreak of the war, put themselves on a war basis. They respected food regulations, they observed meatless and wheatless days, they established economies of many sorts.

One college saved coal by having no heat during October of the year 1918. Students abolished their parties, like Junior "Proms.," Class Days and Class Plays. "No frills and frippery" was a motto adopted at Vassar.

The colleges themselves formally offered courses of instruction designed to educate and to train women for special war-time activities. Some provided courses in agriculture and horticulture. The attendance of women at the ordinary schools of agriculture increased. Several colleges offered courses in occupational therapy designed to train students to become teachers of wounded soldiers in various handicrafts. Applied psychology, chemistry, wireless telegraphy, map-making and map-reading, home economics, drafting, typewriting, French with emphasis on such conversation as might be necessary in canteens, the mechanism of the motor car, first aid, surgical dressings, home nursing, war cookery: all of these and many more courses represented the war-time instruction. Students felt themselves impelled toward such training; and the college officers with much enthusiasm, threw themselves into the giving of such instruction. The value of such courses was both psychological and practical.

The colleges also gave themselves to what may be called the military avocations of academic life.

Chief among them were found the activities of the Red Cross. Most diverse were the services thus rendered by both younger and older graduates and by students. They all gave themselves to the executive work of the Red Cross. They became teachers in the Navy Department and censors in the post-office, publicity workers in the Women's Council of National Defense, and psychological examiners of candidates in the aviation service. They did welfare work in factories. They served at home and abroad as telephone operators and superintendents. Individual colleges offered individual services.

Reed College, Oregon, formed a military organization for knitting, which was divided into thirteen companies. Vassar's students provided more than 25,000 pieces of work done for soldiers. The "Sopho-Militia," at Randolph-Macon, helped to furnish a hostess house at Camp Lee. The agricultural unit of Vassar and of other colleges helped to overcome the shortage of farm labor in the spring of 1918. The Patriotic League of one college sent out six thousand pieces of mail addressed to soldiers. Financial campaigns, like Liberty Bonds and friendship funds, were carried forward; and in one college, the Western Reserve College for Women, the amount secured in one Liberty Loan through students was more than one-half million dollars. The

faculty and students of Vassar College raised \$182,000 for war service. Many nurses of hundreds of Young Women's Christian Associations in the colleges were mobilized for instant and constant service. The typical college came to have fun and sport in planning work for the comfort of the men at the front and in the camps. Such were some of the campus and near-campus activities of the students and graduates. In a still wider radius were found many other activities. These activities came to their fullness in the summer of the year 1918. No one of these services proved to be more commanding than that found in the Vassar Nurses' Camp in the so-called vacation months of that year. This camp was, in fact, a "Woman's Plattsburg." It gave an introductory training to women who proposed to adopt nursing as a profession. About one hundred and fifteen colleges were represented by graduates or students, coming from many states, in which Ohio and New York were first. Most of these students entered the regular training schools of hospitals with the season of 1918-1919.

Wellesley college, at the request of the "Woman's Land Army of America," established an experiment station on and near its beautiful grounds. It was rather an experiment station than a training school. Its numbers were limited to thirty, who came them-

selves from several colleges and who were already teachers, housekeepers, farmers and holders of good business places. It was in part a camp for farmers. Expert instruction was also given in hygiene, sanitation and first aid.

In this diverse work Smith College in coöperation with the Boston Psychopathic Hospital conducted a small school for psychiatric association work, having in mind the special purpose of giving aid to shell-shocked sufferers. Bryn Mawr provided special service in training leaders in industrial plants, and Mount Holyoke in educating groups of workers to aid women employed in factories to secure good hygienic and moral conditions.

At the tip-end of Cape Cod at Provincetown the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ established a Home Clubhouse for the men serving on patrol boats and at the radio stations. It gave an opportunity for recreation in a home atmosphere.

But the services of graduates of the colleges for women were not confined to the home shores. The record of their work, though narrow in scope and confined to small numbers, is most impressive. For the first time in history college women had a definite share in the activities of war or in the repair of war's damages. For it is ever to be remembered that the college for women is a distinctively new crea-

tion. The first outstanding institutions did not offer instruction until the close of the Civil War in America.

A division for oversea service was first made by Smith College. Its relief workers were among the first of American Associations to carry help to devastated Northern and Eastern France. Composed of nurses trained and untrained, equipped with the proper medical staff, it bore healing to the sick and the wounded, sight to the blind, feet to the lame, bread to the hungry, a sense of home to the homeless, and cheer to all. To the unit was committed no less than sixteen villages of two thousand people, to whom its members were to become friends. Expelled from their habitat in the spring retreat of 1918, and in peril of capture by the enemy, they yet persevered in season and out of season, in every place open to their service. Their worth in the work of reconstruction was within its field most efficient.

A similar Red Cross unit was commissioned by Wellesley. Among the conditions for membership were besides sound character, a minimum age limit of twenty-five years, a certificate of enduring health, physical and nervous, ability to speak, read and write easy French, a training in medicine or nursing or social service. The unit contained members of diverse facilities: physicians, nurses, dieticians,

social experts, executives and secretarial workers were enrolled. One division had no less than one hundred and fifty members. Its special field of work was found among the rapatriés.

Two units were sent from Vassar College, one for canteen service and one for reconstruction. The work done by Vassar graduates is typical of work done by graduates of all colleges. A worker in a canteen unit assigned to the Bordeaux district wrote of her doings: "In those first days I used to visit the camp hospital every morning with writing paper and tobacco and chocolate. In the afternoons I would sell things at the canteen and soon I began to make lemonade. Next I got up some French classes which the boys seem to enjoy. . . . In this last month, I have been made chairman of the entertainment committee and I am responsible for seeing there is something happening at the hut every night. We have an inside and an outside stage and when I can, I try to have two entertainments going on at the same time, as one cannot begin to take care of all the men who flock to the 'Y' in the evenings. Of course every so often they send us entertainers from Bordeaux but not nearly so often as we could wish, so we try to discover the talent that passes through this camp. I have had two signs made:

CAN YOU ENTERTAIN?

If you dance, sing, tell a funny story or do any kind of stunt, let us have your name here. We want you to be part of our Camp Hunt theatrical troupe.

. . . "It isn't really possible to give much idea in a report of this kind of all the miscellaneous things that crop up for one to do in the course of a week. There are endless wearying details to the arranging of nightly programs — tramping from one barracks to another to interview your 'talent,' going to commanders to secure coöperation, the getting of 'details' of men to help you with the actual labor of decorating a hall or gathering materials, hunting up men to draw posters to advertise your parties, and multitudes of other things that have to be done. Sometimes you get discouraged with the enormity of the task and the little headway you seem to be making but soon after something will happen — if it's no more than some boy's exclamation, 'Gee, a real American girl!' — to make you realize that the kind of thing the women over here are doing can't be tested for tangible results."¹

It is not the primary function of the historian to draw inferences, but it is fitting for him to say that the record of graduates and students of American

¹ Letter from Irma Waterhouse, October 31, 1918 — *Vassar Quarterly*, February, 1919, pages 117-118.

colleges for women, serving in the war, at home and abroad, proves that their hearts have the same patriotic beat as the hearts of their brothers. The half century of their college education gives conclusive evidence that they are the saviors of the race quite as truly as their fathers, brothers, husbands and children. Their strength has been tried and found not to be wanting in any crisis to which that strength has been applied. Their education creates a new asset for and in humanity. The higher education has in the past been the subject of many fears. Among the fears was the apprehension lest this education would tend to make women remote in feeling from the world and unconscious of its hard, perplexing problems. A dread was felt that education might tend to nourish morbidity and unworthy self-consciousness; and that this self-consciousness might create vanity and a spirit of disdain and contempt for the weaker classes. For many years before the outbreak of the war these fears seemed to fair-minded observers to be groundless. The war has conclusively and lastingly proved that women are able to stand in their places, doing their simple duty, whatever that duty might be. These college graduates have been decorated for bravery under fire. The number thus honored is small. But in conditions demanding heroism quite as great and endurance quite as severe,

without resulting decorations of war crosses or orders of merit, they have proved themselves to be the worthiest.

In the period in which such service was rendered abroad, women at home, still students in the colleges, were seeking to do their duty. Despite "alarums and excursions," despite Red Cross calls, despite the demands of the manifold war work, despite the perils of infantile paralysis, and the devastating and disruptions of influenza of the autumn of 1918, the colleges for women kept steadily at their daily and weekly tasks. Students continued to go on their way toward their academic goal. An example of such steadiness and progress is found in the oldest of the great colleges for women. The President of Vassar College, writing in his annual report, said:

"It is recorded in the Dean's report for the current academic year that, while in June, 1917, there were 689 who had never had a deficiency, of the 1060 students now in college 742 have never had a condition, and 85 per cent. of the student body are above our well defined requirements of the graduation grade."¹

Such testimony has great value as evidence that,

¹ *Vassar College Bulletin*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, Reports of the President and the Treasurer for the year ending June 30, 1919, page 4.

though the college girl was moved by the far-off conditions of the world's suffering, yet she was faithful to the immediate duty.

X

THE RELIGION OF THE STUDENT SOLDIER

The American college is a religious institution and agency. Historically it had its origin in the Christian church. The religious atmosphere of its beginning has continued in succeeding decades and centuries. The State University is as religious as the commonwealth of which it is a part — no more — no less. In institutions of both types, the privately endowed and the publicly supported, the religion prevailing is a large and free form of the Christian faith. The sectarian note is at present less outspoken than in the early time, and the reality of religious belief still continues.

The prevailing type of religion is one which is represented in Micah's sententious interpretation of doing justice, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God. Micah's interpretation is continued in Christ's two great commandments and in the Beatitudes of his Sermon on the Mount. It is a type which does not invite pious or frequent exhortation but lays emphasis on doing right, and inspires a

feeling of abhorrence of that which is not honorable and square.

It has been affirmed that these student soldiers, possessing a sense of reality, were more religious than they thought themselves to be. They believed in goodness which, somehow, they did not quite associate with God. Whether they knew, or did not know, of Matthew Arnold's definition of God, they somehow believed in a power not themselves which made for righteousness. They were in a sense pantheists. But their pantheism was of a very personal kind. One cannot say that they were "God-intoxicated." But one can say that they found the soul of goodness within themselves which was reënforced in its strivings and struggles by the spirit of goodness without. In fact, the spirit of badness, which was manifest to eye, to ear, and to heart, may itself have given emphasis to the beneficent soul within their own bosoms.

This type of religion was especially pervasive. The thoughts of students on the campus and in camp were turned Godward. Face to face with what are called the eternal realities, each man sought to adjust himself to the realities in feeling, in reflection, and in choice. The endeavor for self-adjustment was not as active or as timely for the soldier student on the campus or in the camp as for the student soldier on the firing line; but for both the

eternal motive was insistent and vital. Perhaps the strongest note in this endeavor was the note of unconscious self-sacrifice. The men gave themselves freely, largely, exultantly. So complete was the exultation that the sacrifice was not at all interpreted in terms of sacrifice. The college student in his reflectiveness desired to help humanity, to enlarge and to enrich the agencies of human betterment, to preserve ideals in a world sordid and mean, to ennoble and to make lasting a high civilization. In the securing of these lofty purposes he was willing to share in the last and supreme act of devotion.

The work which the college did in the cause of religion was usually done through the Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of Columbus. Of course, chaplains commissioned by the government were in the service and not a few of them won great results. But the chaplain not infrequently stood for individualism, and individualism in this war did not have the opportunity for usefulness which it possessed in former wars. Yet not a few clergymen gave a personal service of unspeakable worth.

The chaplain in both the American and English armies seems to have had a job, perhaps no harder than other wars offer, but it was surrounded by conditions which were especially trying. Writing of the

English chaplains, the author of "A Private in the Guards" has said:

"They could not preach the Sermon on the Mount because they thought loving your enemies contrary to the spirit of the war. They could not inveigh against lust because the medical officer was of opinion that Nature's needs must be satisfied. They could not attack bad language because it was accepted as manly. They could not attack drunkenness because it was the men's relaxation, and a good drinker was considered a good fighter. What was there for a poor padre to say to the men?"¹

But, despite these limitations, the value of personal character in the army as manifest in the chaplain was of primary worth. If he represented the best qualities of manhood, virile and sympathetic, kind without softness, laborious and sacrificing, determined to help every man, fearing no peril and accepting no favor, he was a force at once commanding and persuasive. But if he were cowardly and selfish, the soldiers had no respect for him, and gave no responsive hearing to his words. His advice did not command their regard, and his character received merited contempt. Yet be it said comprehensively that the American, like the English chaplain, deserves the bet-

¹ "A Private in the Guards," by Stephen Graham, page 243.

ter interpretation which Mr. Graham gives of the English:

“I met whilst I was in France some ten or twelve chaplains. They all had pleasant personalities, and it was a relief to converse with them after the rough-and-ready wit of the men. I saw them from a different angle from that in which they were seen by the officers. What struck me most about them was the extraordinary way they seemed to make their minds fit to the official demands made upon opinion. They always rapidly absorbed the official point of view about the war, and often the officers’ point of view as well.”¹

It was, however, the Young Men’s Christian Association which, through service religious and social, secured the best results. The college contributed of its students, of its professors as well as of its graduates, to this enrollment. The “hut” became a unique place in every camp, both at home and abroad. This hut to the soldier stood for his home. It gave not only shelter, but also recreation, friendliness, comfort. It represented an ideal, realized to the soldier, of human well being. It also helped to maintain morale as well as to give happiness. The work was established as a large human work. Whatever

¹ Ibid., page 244.

related to the welfare of the soldier as an individual or of the group was regarded as its function. It was recreational service in the largest sense. It consisted in managing a canteen, or a camp post, in selling cigarettes, chocolate, and whatever might minister to the soldier's happiness, in talking to wounded men in hospital, in writing letters for those who could not write, in recommending books to those who were indifferent, in arranging boxing bouts for exercise and for fun, in getting instruments for a brass band and in organizing the players. Such work did not supplement sermons, yet, the sermons were not neglected. The traditionally religious side of the service might seem to be neglected, but the religious impulse was consciously, or unconsciously, at the base of the life of many student soldiers.

There arose toward the close of the war criticism.

The criticism of the Young Men's Christian Association touched both personnel and method. First: Unworthy men were selected as secretaries or field executives. Second: The work was commercialized, or was not made properly Christian. In its commercial relation goods were sold, it was charged, at a higher price than the costs warranted. The answer to these criticisms was made, that in an enrollment of executives numbering several thousand men, it was to be expected that some would be found

either incompetent or dishonest, or both. The second charge, of a lack of the religious element, was met by the interpretation that the conditions did not allow, or did not at least provide for, religious presentations. One chaplain said to me that the charge could not have been made if the word "Christian" had been struck out of the corporate name. In all these diverse services college men held a large share. College teachers of French became teachers to American soldiers. College graduates of all callings became executives and undergraduates helped in many and diverse fields.¹

¹ The following examples are typical of the variety of the services to which college men gave themselves:

A BISHOP'S VARIED SUNDAY

"The Protestant Episcopal bishop of Erie, Pa., is having the time of his life over here among the soldiers. He is one of those who have made good as a speaker to the soldiers, and he itinerates among the huts, visiting with the men by day and addressing meetings at night. His everyday vestments are a uniform, and the fact that he is a bishop means a deal less to the boys than that he is 'a good Scout.' Naturally on Sunday the bishop administers the communion at least once, for the soldiers show a desire for the sacrament greater than they display at home. Recently after the first large action in which the Americans were independently engaged, the bishop held two communion services for the men on Sunday morning—and in the afternoon he sold cigarettes and candy over the counter of the 'Y.' And everybody who knows the conditions here believes that the latter action was also a Christian ministry.

OTHER VARIETIES OF "Y" WORKERS

"The personnel of this many sided work for the troops is an

Perhaps the most distinctive work, religious or semi-religious, done by the colleges through their students was found in the contribution of money made for the relief of prisoners of war, for men in the exhaustive topic. A Standard Oil magnate was over here looking into things and getting a sample of what the Y. M. C. A. ministry is. On his first night at the front, when his truck had been under the German fire, the supply of gasoline gave out, as if in mockery of the oil man's presence, and he had to walk several miles through the night to get to the base. Then he went off to a difficult front-line hut, where he learned how to work without being able to call upon a secretary or a staff of assistants, and to his credit be it said he did good service for the soldiers, none of whom knew that he was not a preacher or other professional Y. M. C. A. worker.

ENJOYMENT IN HARD, DANGEROUS WORK

"These Y. M. C. A. men got farther to the front than even the correspondents. Three have been wounded thus far, and one woman worker has been killed by shell fire. It is almost a daily experience for the drivers of the trucks to pass through the fire zone, and I noticed that the Red Triangle on one of the trucks had been dented by shrapnel. These men carry gas masks as naturally and as inevitably as the cowboys used to carry pistols. A steel helmet is a part of every driver's equipment.

"All this quickly becomes a matter of course. On the front above Toul I have met repeatedly a business man of Columbus, O., who has left his store and banks and other interests, and is out here in the fire zone, working night and day upon the task of organizing and directing the business end of supplying the soldiers with the incidentals which can be got only through the 'Y.' It is the hardest work this man has ever done, but never has he enjoyed anything more.

"In one of the base cities, where there are many American

armies, and for the wounded in the war zones. Over a million dollars was given by the students and officers of the American colleges for this beautiful and unique purpose. The amount contributed by different colleges is significant and impressive. Northwestern University, \$12,000; University of Chicago, \$15,427; University of Illinois, \$27,563; Purdue University, \$18,960; Iowa State College, \$23,000; University of Michigan, \$23,000; University of Minnesota, \$27,500; University of Nebraska, \$21,057; Ohio State University, \$17,407; Western Reserve University, \$12,961; University of Wisconsin, \$21,000. The money thus raised was called a Friendship Fund. It was spent, as I have said, in aiding prisoners and in promoting the efficiency of all the causes in which the students were interested. The worth of the service thus rendered overseas was great; the worth of the work done for the givers themselves was even greater. Above all else it proved the troops, there is a Western physician, with his two adult daughters, who is running a Y. M. C. A. café and concert hall for the men, at his own charge. Few American families, outside of actual military service, are doing so much for the cause as he.

“Upwards of 2000 ‘Y’ workers are now in France. Seventy-five per cent. of them have ‘made good.’ But as many more beyond draft age, are needed. They have to stand in the stead of mother and father and home and church to an entire army of boys.” WILLIAM T. ELLIS in *Boston Transcript*, June 1st, 1918.

unity of the hearts of all students with each other, and the unity of their hearts with all men in distress.

The training given to the Young Men's Christian Association workers was entrusted in certain cases to members of the college faculties. Members of the Princeton faculty, in the spring of 1918, served as teachers for one hundred and fifty men who were about to go abroad. Courses in conversational French were perhaps the most common, but also the teaching took on a larger relationship, being concerned with French life, ideals, manners and customs. In this service the teachers of Romance in all colleges of America felt a deep interest. Not a few of them volunteered themselves, but also they promoted the going of their students. Through addresses and through their writings they quickened the interest of thoughtful men in the service to be rendered by colleges through the Y. M. C. A. in France, in England, and wherever was found the American soldier.

In the broad interpretation of religion, it is also to be said that the American college, through the same Association and by other methods, did much in the promotion of the moral purity of the life of the American soldier. Without doubt the American Army was the cleanest of all armies. Toward this result not only the religious and the ethical impulse

was directed, but also medical science and medical coöperation. The peril of venereal disease was constantly impressed upon soldiers; and in official and unofficial ways the duty of clean-mindedness and of clean living were enforced.¹ Another special form of religious and social work was found in the ambulance field service. This service, beginning before the formal entrance of the United States into the war, enrolled not far from two thousand men. These students went straight from their class-rooms to Flanders Fields and Vosges Mountains. Toward this number Harvard sent more than three hundred; Yale and Princeton about two hundred men each. It was the service of the good Samaritan rendered

¹ An American college professor, Lieutenant Raymond V. Phelan, issued a note entitled—"Our New Morality":—

"Sexually speaking, one of three courses will be followed by every American soldier entering France. (1) He will practice the sexual continence that his commander is expected to teach, and enforce by scrupulously moral conduct on his own part. (2) He may take where opportunity offers dastardly advantage of the moral women of the French nation. (3) He may, at the cost of future disease and misery in America, patronize the unfortunate woman. Many and many a soldier has with evident honesty and sincerity of purpose assured the writer that he has lived a clean life in the army and will continue to do so. If the question of sexual morality is pursued by commanders with vigor and determination, may not the American soldier manfully respond, and give us as one of the many splendid products of the war a greatly improved standard of moral conduct among American men?"

under perils far more perilous by day and by night, near front-line trenches and in shell-swept areas, than the good Samaritan ever dreamed of.

Service of the same glorious type was given by the men of Oxford and of other British Universities. Writing near the close of the year 1916, an Oxford lecturer said:

“ It is two years now since they began to go over to Belgium and the occupied territories of France; and there, setting themselves between the hammer and the anvil, among suspicion and surveillance, in unrelenting toil and with patient organization, they labored to relieve the destitute and to visit the needy in their affliction. Such work became, as it seemed, a part of their Oxford course; and each new student who came from America, after staying a little while, crossed over, as if in duty bound, for his term of service on the other side. As time went on new doors were opened and new duties were undertaken. When the bombardment of Verdun was fiercest, and the sleet of iron and fire drove with the deadliest intensity against its walls, the American Ambulance was there, and American students were with the ambulance of their country. Turning chauffeurs and mechanics — chauffeurs and mechanics of an infinite resource and sagacity — they drove thousands of

the wounded soldiers of France, along icebound, slippery roads, from the field of battle to their haven of rest; and if their cars broke down, as American cars would sometimes do, they set them triumphantly to rights by the roadside, and in a few hours were driving quietly forward again to their base. Nor were their goings and doings only in Belgium and in France; they went even farther afield, and there were some who, seeking the farthest bounds of the far-flung battle line, went out to find ways of service and ministration in India, or in Africa, or in Mesopotamia.”¹

The general effect of war and its circumstance on the religious beliefs and practice of college men was at least sixfold.

First: the war served to exalt the student's and the graduate's sense of patriotism and of humanitarianism into a religion, or,— to change the point of view, — it served to incarnate the chief expression of his religion in his love for country and for man. If religion be defined as the relation which man holds to God, the college man's religion in the course of the war soon passed out of this definition into a faith in and a loyalty to his country and to all men.

¹ “Mothers and Sons in War Time,” by Ernest Barker, pages 60 and 61.

Second: Such a religion was therefore essentially an ethical system and interpretation of the relation of men to each other. The soldier student believed, and practiced, not only that he should love his neighbor as himself, but even more than himself. He should be prepared, and be glad, to die for his neighbor. The willingness to die for one's neighbor has, of course, tens of thousands of illustrations, and, what is perhaps more important, the willingness to endure pain, dreaded more than death itself, has hundreds of thousands of illustrations. These examples are equally common among college men and among those who dwell without academic walls. An English chaplain tells of his entering a dugout just taken from the Germans and of finding himself stifled with the foul air. He said something sympathetic to the man who lay on a bed of clay beside him. The man's answer was, " 'This! This is paradise to what we've been through before we took the ridge.' " Continuing, Dr. Kelman says, " Add to this the constant call to face atrocious danger, and the pain of wounds while they lay untended on the field. Then remember the thousands who have gone with open eyes to certain death, to hold an outpost or to save a company; and the many instances of officers and men who have thrown themselves upon live bombs that they might save their neighbors by the sacrifice of

their own lives, or in other ways have deliberately given their lives for others.”¹

Third: The third effect lay in what may be said to be the realm of the imagination. Yet this imagination was rather a force than a field of the college man's religion. It stood for the intellectual way in which religion made its appeal. It lay in the sense that one is living a great life, doing a great work, inspired by a great motive, measuring up to the greatest possibilities within his bosom. It is keeping step with one's fellow soldier in life's march. It is the sense of music in one's soul. It is the meaning of the lump in the throat.

Fourth: But while this sense of imagination was a method of interpretation of the student's relation to God, this religion was also to him a deep and ever increasing sense of loyalty. The gospel of sincerity, of truthfulness to the fact, was dear to him. He detested sham, pretense, counterfeit. He hated the false as the devil holy water. His hatred was colored through and through with scorn and contempt. This sense of reality caused him to turn with confidence to the men who as clergymen, as priests, or as Christian Association secretaries called out his belief in their integrity and honesty. This sense of reality

¹ “The War and Preaching,” by Rev. Dr. John Kelman, page 86.

touched both his assent to truth and his friendship for the individual.

Fifth: This same sense of reality inevitably resulted in a simplicity of religious beliefs. The college man's creed was short. The Fatherhood of God was its first, and chief, article, and perhaps its last also and this article had phrases which possibly belonged quite as much to the heart as to the reason. It was interpreted in the terms of the emotions and sentiments quite as often, and always as deeply, as in terms of the intellect. It recognized, often unconsciously, Pascal's truth that the heart has its reasons of which the reason knows not.

Sixth: Such a simple creed, of course, led to an elimination of the great sectarian divisions which now afflict the church. Not only were the minor Protestant distinctions wiped out, but also the Jewish, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant faiths were in certain foundations united. Over the grave of a brave soldier, the rabbi, the priest and the minister offered a common prayer to one God. The elemental and fundamental realities, the suffering and the fellowship of life and of death, joined men together in religious faith and act.

XI

POETRY AS AN INTERPRETATION OF THE WAR

Literature, as a force and form of life, has its fount and origin in the college, and it is continued by the academic tradition. The literature of the war has already taken on several forms,—history, essay, letters, poetry. Of course, these writings are only the beginning of interpretations which will go on for unnumbered centuries. But, at the present moment, the poetry, which the war inspired, is probably the most significant contribution of a literary kind, made by the graduate or student. For, in all definitions of poetry, feeling and imagination are the true constants, and feeling and imagination are most dominant in the heart and mind of youth, and possibly most completely dominant in the heart and mind of the youth of the academic plane trees. Yet it should at once be said that the contribution, made by American college students and graduates to the poetry of the war, is slight. Compared with the contribution made by the graduates of British universities, it is small in amount and meager in quality.

An examination of the larger share of all poems written by college men of both nations necessitates the conclusion that they do not represent the full tide of English song. The reason is perhaps evident enough for the American paucity.

Although, in a real human sense, the war was America's from August, 1914,—in a technical, governmental sense, it was not America's until almost three years after. The period of America's participation was brief. The war was also three thousand miles away. It was farther away from the majority of the American people and of most college men than three thousand miles of distance would intimate. For remoteness in relationship added to remoteness in distance. It was not until the declaration of war was made that the academic flags were unfurled or the college bugle sounded. Therefore the poet was dumb, as the government seemed to some numb.

The English poetry of the war, coming from either Oxford or Cambridge, from Scottish or Midland University, was unlike the typical war songs. It had none of the martial glory of the "Charge of the Light Brigade." It was likewise remote from Campbell's "Songs of Battle," "The Battle of the Baltic," "Napoleon and the British Sailor," and "The Power of Russia." Such were not the themes of which the Oxford poet dreamed. The English verse of the war

was rather moral than martial, rather psychological than patriotic, rather human than national or even international. It was indeed concerned with the divine quite as much as with the human.

The poem of both the American and the British student was the poetry of the inner life. It was what the philosophers call subjective. It might be named romantic, in case one substitutes man for nature in the usual definition. It was an aspiration, like Gothic architecture. Little, or none, of the completeness of the classical type did it have. Many of these verses are like the Hebrew Psalms, poems of the personal life, of character, of struggle, of resignation, of victory. They remind one of George Herbert's precious verse. The typical poem was concerned with righteousness and honor, with endurance of heart and will, with hopefulness in darkness and in days of despair, with the glory of sacrifice, with the broodingness of mystery, with the belief that the unseen is the eternal and that the unseen means the right, with sympathy for the sorrowing and with exultation for the glorified, with hatred of despotism and with the beauty of the new republic of man, with the heroism of our common humanity, with the majesty of concerted and coöperative obedience, with patience in the *dies irae*, with the constant presence of the dead and of their imperishable life.

Illustrations of these sentiments are more easily found in English than in American verse. Captain Charles Hamilton Sorley, who died in October, 1915, at the age of twenty years, cries out:

“ And let me stand so and defy them all.
The martyr’s exultation leaps in me,
And I am joyous, joyous!” ¹

Captain Richard Dennys, who was killed at the Somme, exclaims:

“ My day was happy — and perchance
The coming night is full of stars.” ²

Rifleman S. Donald Cox, in his song “ To my Mother,” says:

“ If I should fall, grieve not that one so weak and poor as I should die, but say

‘ I too had a son;
He died for England’s sake!’ ” ³

Lieutenant Mackintosh, of the Seaforth Highlanders, before his death in action, in November, 1917, writes:

¹ The *South Atlantic Quarterly*, April, 1918, “ The Spirit of Youth in Arms,” by Walter Graham, page 91.

² Ibid., page 92.

³ Ibid.

“If I die to-morrow
I shall go happily.
With the flush of battle on my face
I shall walk with an eager pace
The road I cannot see.”¹

Such examples could be continued to the number of almost three score of those who fell singing. If Germany had her Körner, friend of Goethe and Schiller, student at Leipsic, whose last poem was written the very day of his last battle — a song to his bride, his sword, who, at less than twenty-two years of age, fell fighting for the cause of liberty, England and America had their singing sons who died also on the field of honor. Their years were few. Their poems were also few. But the great experience brought into vivid, and often powerful, expression what would have required many years of the daily round and common task to effect.

Of all the English singers, the poems of Thomas Hardy and of Rupert Brooke perhaps give the richest promise of lastingness. Rupert Brooke's five sonnets go down the deepest and reach up the highest. I cannot deny myself the right of quoting the familiar and ever moving lines entitled, “The Soldier”: —

¹ In making these quotations, I wish specially to acknowledge the great service which my associate, Walter Graham, has given.

If I should die, think only this of me:

That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is forever England. There shall be

In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,
A body of England's, breathing English air,
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home.

And think, this heart, all evil shed away,

A pulse in the eternal mind, no less

Gives somewhere back the thoughts by England
given;

Her sights and sounds; dreams happy as her day;

And laughter, learnt of friends; and gentleness,

In hearts at peace, under an English heaven.¹

With Rupert Brooke, I associate an American, a son of Harvard, Alan Seeger.

Brooke and Seeger were alike in age, alike in general educational condition, although one came from the American and the other from the English Cambridge, alike in a desire to know and to feel experience, alike in that to each life was a cup which each willed to drink, both to its fullness and to its depths, alike in binding to themselves friendships, not with hoops of steel, but with willowy bands of mutual love, alike in wide travel, and alike in romantic

¹ "The Collected Poems of Rupert Brooke," John Lane Company, with Introduction by George Edward Woodberry, page 111.

vision and power and promise. They were also alike in coming into and in giving up life, within a few months of each other, in its early years, while still the victory was seen only by the eye of faith. Of the two, the Englishman is undoubtedly the greater. An assured place he holds in the gallery of song. But Seeger is also sure of a lasting place, even if not so high. His "I have a Rendezvous with Death" and his "Ode in Memory of the American Volunteers Fallen for France" are to endure as bronze. I wish to write out "I have a Rendezvous with Death," as standing for the most moving poem written by an American college graduate who served as a soldier.

I have a rendezvous with Death
At some disputed barricade,
When Spring comes back with rustling shade
And apple-blossoms fill the air—
I have a rendezvous with Death
When Spring brings back blue days and fair.

It may be he shall take my hand
And lead me into his dark land,
And close my eyes and quench my breath—
It may be I shall pass him still.
I have a rendezvous with Death
On some scarred slope of battered hill,
When Spring comes round again this year
And the first meadow-flowers appear.

God knows 'twere better to be deep
Pillowed in silk and scented down,

Where Love throbs out in blissful sleep,
 Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath,
 Where hushed awakenings are dear. . . .
 But I've a rendezvous with Death
 At midnight in some flaming town,
 When Spring trips north again this year,
 And I to my pledged word am true,
 I shall not fail that rendezvous.¹

It must not, however, be inferred that all the poetry of college soldiers, or of soldiers of any type, was of the heroic couplet only. All experiences of the camp, of the march, of the mess, of the drill, came into view. Some of the resulting verses were witty, some were humorous, some were profane — sinlessly and properly profane! Yet the quantity of happy verse was small, and its general quality was that of doggerel. Perhaps the most popular of all such verse was a burlesque of Kipling's "Gunga Din" which, under the title of "Hunk o' Tin," was dear to soldiers both at home and overseas.² The simple truth

¹ "Poems by Alan Seeger," with an Introduction by William Archer, page 144.

² The paint is not so good
 And no doubt you'll find the hood
 Will rattle like a boiler shop en route;
 The radiator may boil
 And perhaps she's leakin' oil,
 Then often times the horn declines to toot.
 But when the night is black
 And there's blessés to take back
 And they hardly give you time to take a smoke;

is that life and death, suffering and shock, and all experiences, actual or imagined, were altogether too common and too somber to invite the light touch. I have sought among many pages of verse to find examples of quickened pleasure and merriment in the writer. One of the few, which I do venture to quote, seems to bear in its spirit the ring of some of Kipling's lines. Kipling ever appeals to the soldier's soul. It has the title of "The Song of the Dead Ambulance Men."

We're sick of your harps and your haloes, of your well-
kept heavenly things,
Of your roads without even a shell-hole (we'll be damned
if we'll use your wings).
We're sick and tired of smoking when cigarettes flow so
free
That we throw the butts half-burnt beside your Pearly
Sea.
We know that we died like heroes for the lives of the men
who fell,

It is mighty good to feel
When you're sitting at the wheel,
She'll be running when the bigger cars are broke.
Oh it's Din Din Din.
If it happens there's a ditch you've skidded in
Don't be worried but just shout
Till some poilu boosts you out
And you're glad she's not so heavy Hunk o' tin.

Dedicated to the Memory of Car No. 423, S. S. U. 13 Mort
May 8th, 1917, by C. C. Battershell. From *Weekly* published in Paris.

But that's no smitten reason why we have to grow fat as
 hell!
 Say, give us the ghost of an ambulance and let us drive
 away
 Somewhere, where there's an angel-fight, and there, by the
 Lord, we'll stay.¹

These numerous quotations may tend to give the impression that it was only the college men who fell fighting who wrote great odes. No impression could be further from the fact. Though the toll of singers was heart-breaking — some fifty in number, of American and of English birth — yet there were singers who were not able to wear khaki, or, if they wore it, who did not fall, whose voices will last for the decades or the centuries. The psychological imagination may interpret war quite as deeply in the college yard and lawn as in the trench, or in the hospital. The only question is whether the writer does possess the imagination of a poet. The actual participation in the battle, if adding to the historic impressiveness of the scene, may yet serve to congest and to stifle the imagination. In order to discover war poems which were not written with the point of the sword dipped in the blood of the writer, one need not go beyond Tennyson's "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington," or Whitman's "Drum Taps."

¹ *Field Service Bulletin*, June 22, 1918, published weekly at Paris, "The Song of Dead Ambulance Men," by S. L. Conklin.

Neither the Englishman nor the American singer stood on the firing line.

These poems, and numberless others which might be gathered up, are, on the whole, as was said at the beginning of this chapter, poems of the inner life. They are essentially studies of the soul. Being studies of the soul, they are impressively alike. They are sung in many meters and to many tunes. But they do serve to illustrate Shelley's remark when he speaks of "That great poem which all poets, like the coöperating thoughts of one great mind, have built up since the beginning of the world."

Seeger, Brooke, and their fellow singers, like Keats, Shelley, and Byron, died young. In few years, and brief, they experienced much and lived deeply. They had passion and thought and reflection. Both of them had vision, vision of the heart, as well as of the poetic imagination.

What Brooke or Seeger would have produced had they lived to the age of forty, or of fifty, is as vain as to ask to what heights Keats would have soared had he lived to twice his score and six years. One recalls that the life of Tennyson and of Browning began in or near the first, and closed in or near the last, decade of the nineteenth century. One does not forget either that Pope, of a wholly unlike order, had attained, in his three decades, a secure place in Eng-

lish poesy. But Brooke belonged to an order of singers of the inner life which is as capable of as endless a development and of as diverse attainment as are the depths and variations of the human soul. One must be content in reverently and sorrowfully thinking with one greater than either the young American or the young English singer, "For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime."

Without doubt the Commemoration Ode of James Russell Lowell still remains as the most quickening of all war poems written in America. Bold would be the prophet who should declare that as great an ode would be inspired to commemorate the world war. Standing next to it, though at a distance, is a sonnet of a friend and disciple of Lowell, Woodberry: —

"I pray for peace; yet peace is but a prayer.
 How many wars have been in my brief years!
 All races and all faiths, both hemispheres,
 My eyes have seen embattled everywhere
 The wide earth through; yet do I not despair
 Of peace, that slowly through far ages nears,
 Though not to me the golden morn appears;
 My faith is perfect in time's issue fair.

For man doth build on an eternal scale,
 And his ideals are framed of hope deferred;
 The millennium came not; yet Christ did not fail,
 Though ever unaccomplished is His word;

Him Prince of Peace, though unenthroned, we hail,
Supreme when in all bosoms He be heard." ¹

The poet is he who sees into the inmost heart of things. The history of the war in its realities, in its dismays, in its despairs and distresses, in its heroisms and victories, in its partings and sorrows, in its glories and exultations, will ever find imperishable symbols and tokens in the poems of college men. They are a moving interpretation of the experiences of the nations and of all men.

"Across the calm, clear sky of God
A great white glory gleams.
The young men find the altar-stairs
Of world-rapt hopes and dreams.
The Beast shall crumble into dust,
The blood-stained crown will fall
Before the shining armies
Of the Lord, the God of All." ²

¹ Sonnets written in the Fall of 1914, by George Edward Woodberry.

² *American Field Service Bulletin*, Paris, May 18, 1918; "Dawn," by Sherman L. Conklin,

XII

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

As the war was an international war, so the relations of American colleges to other nations and to their educational forces became significant. These relations assumed several forms. Among these forms was a study of the language and literature of different peoples and especially of France, the reception by the colleges of academic commissions from these countries; the offering and the acceptance of hospitality to American teachers in foreign capitols; the transfer of college education under American conditions to the camps in France; and the entrance of American student soldiers into British and French universities. It was a unique record of diverse experiences, of gracious courtesies and of forceful efficiency.

Early in the great conflict the antagonistic feeling of the American college toward Germany became manifest. The forcefulness of the command or the wisdom of the counsel of the president to maintain neutrality was not sufficiently strong to prevent most

colleges from indicating their sympathy with the cause of the Allies. The pro-German expressions were far less numerous and less compelling than the great number of American teachers educated in Berlin, Leipsic and Munich would have given ground for expecting. As the war advanced, however, the antagonism became more ardent; and at the time of America's entrance, the German cause found few friends in American institutions of the higher education.

The international relation took on in a striking degree the linguistic form. In a special way it at once came to be related to the abolition of German as a study in the public schools and colleges. On one side the demand was strong and insistent that all association with the language and the literature of a people commonly believed to be so inhuman and bestial should cease. This demand was heard in such vigorous paragraphs as these:

"The sound of the German language or the sight of a printed page in German, reminds us of the murder of *a million* helpless old men, unarmed men, women and children; the driving of about 100,000 young French, Belgian and Polish women into compulsory prostitution for Germany's soldiers; . . . the destruction of many hospital and relief ships, and the crucifixion of Canadian soldier prisoners.

"Henceforth in all English speaking countries, the Ger-

man language will be a handicap to every person who uses it. In America, in England and all British dependencies, *the German language now is a dead language!* All those who speak it or read it will in self-defense conceal that fact. Never again will it be needed anywhere in the Western Hemisphere, save as a reference language. German 'science' now is just as loathsome as German militarism. What is more, *it will long remain so.*"¹

Under such emotional excitement many cities and towns eliminated German from their course of study. In Wisconsin the number of schools offering studies in German fell from two hundred and eighty-five to forty-eight. The colleges, however, were not moved, under emotional stress to action so drastic. Yet, the colleges did find that the students, taking the matter into their own hands, were cutting out German from their list of electives. Institutions excused about one-half of their professors of German, having little teaching for them to give, and the number of students of German fell in some colleges to a tenth of the former enrollment.

But councils saner and safer came to prevail in most colleges and universities in the autumn of the year in which the armistice was signed. It was remembered and remarked that industrial relations would finally be reëstablished with Germany and that

¹ "Throw Out the German Language and All Disloyal Teachers," published by American Defense Society, Inc., New York, pages 1 and 2.

a knowledge of the language would aid in such re-establishment. It was pointed out that the technical and scientific writings of Germany were valuable. It was argued that the history of Germany and its philology shed light on English history and research. It was, of course, declared that Goethe and Schiller are universal interpreters. The persuasiveness of the arguments received emphasis from the extent to which German was studied in the schools of England and of France. The number of schools studying the language in England in the year 1918 was practically equivalent to the number studying it in the year 1911. France likewise was pursuing a wiser policy than was pursued in the schools in certain American states and capitolis. The antagonism to everything German that was manifested in France in the first months of the war had largely passed away by the year 1916. The Minister of Public Instruction under the influence of normal popular opinion was able to say that from one-fourth to one-third of all pupils enrolled in French schools were studying the language, which two years before had been tabooed. It was argued by the Ministerial Commission in a report made to the Ministry of War, that France should not be ignorant of the German language. Every manifestation of her activities should be watched. Her veneer of innocent goodness naturally demanded

special insight of the watchmen. The wisest method and strongest force for securing such knowledge lay in a knowledge of the German tongue.

Yet, though the study of the German language was declining in American colleges, as well as the force of German arms in France, the language of France itself was advancing, as well as the French arms, in the autumn of 1918. If the number of German students was divided by four or a larger figure, the number of French students was multiplied also by at least four. The teachers of the Romance languages in seventeen American universities addressed a letter to other co-workers in the country, in which in moving paragraphs it was said:

"The heart and the mind of America are turning, as never before, to France. To us the signs of this new interest appear in the increased enrollments in French reported by many schools and colleges. It is for us to guide and develop this interest, to make it intelligent, to satisfy it, to give it permanence.

"If we have taught willingly before, we should teach now with a whole-hearted enthusiasm. We are the interpreters of France to America. Let us, in comment and in choice of books, select for emphasis just those elements of French life and French thought that our own country most needs: resolute clearness, keen analysis, respect for the idea, open-mindedness, reference to universal standards, the acquisition of liberty through discipline.

"In our linguistic courses there is need for the confirma-

tion and the extension of new purposes and new methods. In years past the main object of our work, both secondary and collegiate, was to enable the student to understand printed French. Recently the rights of spoken French have received increasing recognition. Now, as a result of the war, those rights are evident. For there is now, and there will be in the time of peace, a mingling of the two peoples, the French and the American, such as there has never been before. Of those whom we teach many will have cause to go to France, many will welcome Frenchmen here. Our former pupils as a whole, have not received a speaking knowledge of French; and those among them who are facing service abroad are painfully conscious of the lack. The students in our enlarging classes to-day want spoken French, and they are entitled to have the want supplied.

"In the Italian courses there is need for the same change in linguistic plan, and for similar discrimination in critical emphasis. We may well seek the broad vision of life from the mount of the centuries, the patience, the delight in fine intellectual achievement, the scrutiny of fundamental truth, that mark the compatriots of Dante. And the service of the interpreter is even more necessary in this case, for Italy, past and present, is still unduly unfamiliar to our countrymen.

"The greatest immediate values of the study of Spanish seem to lie in the possibility of developing an intelligent acquaintance and a sound mutual respect between the Spanish-speaking republics and our own."¹

A service coöperative between French homes and

¹ Circular Note "To Teachers of the Romance Languages in the United States of America." Page 1.

schools and American institutions was found in a delegation of French girls assigned to American colleges. Through the Association of American Colleges, it was arranged for about one hundred and fifty French girls to become American students. In advance of their departing from their own shores, they had accepted a grant of free scholarships,—instruction, board and rooms,—in some seventy-five institutions. Of this method of international coöperation, Professor Cestre, Exchange Professor in Harvard University, has said:

“Nothing can touch the heart of the French nation more deeply than the steps taken by the Association of American Colleges to open scholarships in American Girls’ Colleges to one hundred French women students. There is such warm-heartedness in the offer that the French will see in it one of the readiest and most significant proofs of America’s friendship toward France. Such sanguine response of a whole country’s feeling to the behavior of another country was never recorded in history. Indeed, there is something changed in the world when for the old-time indifference or aloofness between nations one sees substituted such enthusiastic loving-kindness as thus manifested by America toward France. A firm and durable basis for international amity and peace is definitely planted when so noble expressions of idealistic admiration and so liberal movement of collective generosity are possible. I say it emphatically in the name of my countrymen: as the men of France were rewarded for their sacrifice when President Wilson declared that the restora-

tion of Alsace-Lorraine to France *was a question of right* in which the whole world was interested, so the women of France are repaid for their unflinching devotion and steadfastness under the greatest strain in the history of nations by this moving and chivalrous purpose of America.

“Some of these French girls will be led by their altered circumstances, or tempted by the hold this American life will lay on them, or induced by the appeal of apostleship, to stay in this country as teachers of French in schools and colleges. They will be the permanent, living witnesses of the shameful treatment inflicted by Germany on her neighbors, and also the token-bearers and the thanks-givers testifying to the generous friendship of America and to the undying gratefulness of France. They will supply, to some extent, the need of good French teachers in this country after the war, preventing (let us devoutly hope) the greatest evil which might befall American education, namely, that the teaching of French, out of misplaced, good-natured slackness, should be passed over to the Germans, male or female, turned idle by the discrediting of German classics by American children. How many of such German teachers know French? And in what spirit would they interpret *la douce* France, even if they sincerely tried to do justice to her humane civilization and gentle sociability?”

It should be added that the high hopes thus entertained have been realized by the presence of these young women in American colleges. They have fitted well into the social and academic life. If they have received much, they have also given much. Their presence has brought a foreign world near to the isolated American student. This international

transmigration is one of the happiest of the minor elements in current international scholastic history. The first delegation was followed by a second and smaller one, and with equally satisfactory results.

The international relations took on also the reception of educational commissions from Great Britain and from France. The most important of these commissions was the British University Mission which visited American colleges in the autumn of 1918. Its members represented the older universities, the newer universities of the Midlands and the University of London. The Chairman was Doctor Arthur E. Shipley, Master of Christ's College and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University. He wrote soon after the conclusion of the service: —

“For more than sixty days we went up and down this vast country, traveling many thousands of miles and seeing so many universities and colleges and so many presidents and professors that those amongst us who had not hitherto had the privilege of visiting the United States formed the idea that all its cities are university cities and that all the inhabitants are professors, an idea very awful to contemplate!”¹

The results directly flowing from the presence

¹ “The Voyage of a Vice-Chancellor,” by Arthur E. Shipley, Master of Christ's College and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, England, in *Scribner's*, March, 1919, page 307.

of this Mission were, if not of commanding importance, at least informing and inspiring. It was proved that there exists a certain fundamental fellowship between British and American universities. Friendliness and coöperation were constant keynotes. Through the addresses of the members of the Mission and many personal conferences, hundreds of students were informed of the opportunities for graduate study found in England, and be it said the members of the Mission became acquainted with the activities of the higher education in the new world.

The impression made by the Mission on American thought and feeling, in the opinion of American educators, was of the highest value. Doctor Capen, of the Bureau of Education, said:

“A result, which ought to be of great benefit to American education, is the presentation of the view that intellectual achievement cannot properly be measured by mechanical devices.”¹

Professor Kirsopp Lake (Lincoln, '91) now of Harvard University wrote, in a similar spirit: “Will the powers that be at Oxford remember with sufficient vividness that in education, as in other things, machinery is less important than the object for which it is designed?”²

¹ *The American Oxonian*, January, 1919, page 2.

² *Ibid.*, page 4.

Professor Schelling, of the University of Pennsylvania, affirmed: "The war must bring many changes, to our universities as elsewhere. If among many other things, it shall bring us into closer bonds of educational and intellectual union with those who speak our tongue, are ruled by laws descended from the same laws which govern us, vitalized by the same love of liberty and of free institutions which sustain us, we can assuredly count these things as momentous gains." ¹

The Chairman of the Mission, Vice-Chancellor Shipley, later said: "The American people are determined to have education, and from experience of thirty-two years of America I have come to the conclusion that Americans generally get what they set out for. What they mean by education is not in all cases clear to themselves. They are apt to be a little uncritical and apt to be a little influenced by long and uncommon words. From Massachusetts to Texas and from Minneapolis to Charlottesville we have found the same high hopes of the power of education in developing the best qualities of the young.

"However, the instructions of the British Government to us were to do what we could to bring the two Anglo-Saxon nations together, and the most effective way of doing this seems to be by means of the

¹ Ibid., page 10.

young. We hope to exchange both persons and ideas.

“(1) With regard to the persons, we hope that a certain number of students will come from Great Britain to the United States, just as a limited number of American students now come to Great Britain under the Rhodes Trustees. With regard to students, and here I may speak for myself, I think that we should not exchange students with rare exceptions, until they have graduated. It is the young A. B. in my opinion who would most benefit by visiting another country, and I think it is unfortunate to take a man away from his own university until he has completed his course. (2) I would emphasize the fact here that man includes woman. (3) I think the students should be selected not by a competitive examination but by some such board as used to select the King Edward VII German scholars and which now selects the members of the Egyptian and Sudanese Government service. (4) The student when selected should have absolute liberty of choice as to the university or professor he wishes to study at or under. He should not be confined, as is the case with Rhodes Scholars, to one university.”¹

The members of the Mission and the professors and presidents in American colleges agreed in the primary element that the exchange of students and

¹ *Ibid.*, pages 22-23.

of teachers, between the universities of the two branches of the English-speaking race, should be heartily promoted. For this purpose, all wise and proper machinery should be set up.

Aside from the personalities of this Mission and of other commissions, messages of various sorts were frequently exchanged between the universities of the New and of the Old World which are illustrative of a most important increase of fellowship. The Rector of the University of Athens, for instance, addressed the universities of America with reference to the damages wrought by the Bulgarians in Eastern Macedonia. He wrote:

“Incendiarism, slavery, wholesale deportations, torments and excesses of all sorts, these are the means used by the Bulgar—in order to exterminate Hellenism, a behavior worthy of hordes, such as appeared in the darkest times of history.”

The students, too, of the colleges of the Yugo-Slavs, addressed a letter to their fellow students in the United States, in which they said:—

“All the Yugo-Slavs are convinced that the deadly struggle in which they are engaged in conjunction with their grand Allies will result in a just and lasting peace, and bring them to that which they are justly entitled, viz:—the unity and independence of their nation.

“The Yugo-Slavs are proud to number among their Al-

lies the great American democracy, and we, representing the Yugo-Slav students, as well as those fighting in the Servian Army as those who are enrolled against their will in the armies of the enemy or who are languishing in German or Hungarian prisons, address to you, dear fellow students, our cordial and affectionate greetings.”¹

It is also worthy of note that the nefarious letter addressed by the ninety-three professors in the German universities to their colleagues of other nations, in the first months of the war, awoke the severest condemnation in American college halls. The lack of logic in this communication made a deep impression upon both the reason and the heart of American teachers. The presumptuousness indicated in the simple declarations of the infamous document seemed to be one of the surest evidences of the subordination of the professorial to the military authorities. It was one of the hardest blows ever inflicted upon the belief current among American teachers, that the German university system stood for freedom of teaching. As President Butler of Columbia University said: “That appeal was an unmixed mass of untruths, and the stain which it placed upon the intellectual and moral integrity of German scholars and men of science will forever re-

¹ Letter from Central Committee of the Federated Societies of Servian, Croatian and Slovene (Yugo-Slav) college students in Switzerland.

main one of the most deplorable and discouraging events of the war which German militarism and Prussian autoeracy forced upon the peaceful and liberty-loving nations of the world.”¹

This letter, after a year following the declaration of the armistice, was made the subject of a half-apologetic note by several of its signers. It was confessed that pressure was exerted by the German government to secure its issue and that professors were urged by their colleagues to append their names. Both despite and because of these confessions, it still remains one of the dark and sinister blots on the German university system.

But this species of unreasonable and impetuous propaganda was only a microcosm of the principles and methods which German universities and professors had been following for more than forty years. In the preaching and teaching of the older academic and imperial gospel, great professors like Mommsen, Droysen, Sybel and Treitschke were far-resounding voices and potent personalities. They helped to make history as well as to write it. They worked both with the chancellories and with the general staff. They were apologists for the Ems dispatch. Professor Delbrück pronounced on that dispatch a benedic-

¹ Letter addressed to the rector of the University of Upsala by Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, April 15, 1919, page 3.

tion —“ Blessed be the hand that traced those lines.” They represented the height and depth of Chauvinism. From his chair in the University of Berlin Treitschke spoke not only to the thousands of vigorous, virile and volatile students, but also through them to the whole German people. He was an apt pupil of the great Frederick’s teaching. A world dominion won by military power was the comprehensive and consummate text. Such was the foreign and home Gospel which was designed to unite and to Prussianize all Germany. The voice was indeed the voice of Treitschke, but the Gospel was the Gospel of Frederick the Great. The state was the real commander and personality. That the end justifies the means, that the stronger should triumph over the weak, that the small nations should yield to the large, that material force, and not conscience, rules and should rule mankind: — these were among the beatitudes of the academic gospel. The state first made the university and then the university helped to make the state,—the state universal, omnipotent, omnipresent.

Among the unique and the more important of international relations was that foundation which became known as the American University Union. Established in Paris in the midsummer of 1917, it had for its purpose, “ To meet the needs of American

university and college men and their friends who were in Europe for military or other service in the cause of the Allies." Its more specific purpose was:

" 1. To provide at moderate cost a home with the privilege of a simple club for American college men and their friends passing through Paris or on furlough: the privilege to include information bureau, writing and newspaper room, library, dining-room, bed-rooms, baths, social features, opportunities for physical recreation, entertainments, medical advice, etc.

" 2. To provide a headquarters for the various bureaus already established or to be established in France by representative American universities, colleges and technical schools.

" 3. To coöperate with these bureaus when established, and in their absence to aid institutions, parents, or friends, in securing information about college men in all forms of war service, reporting on casualties, visiting the sick and wounded, giving advice, serving as a means of communication with them, etc."

About one hundred and fifty American colleges were formally enrolled; and no less than thirty-five thousand men registered at its offices. Its headquarters was established in the Royal Palace Hotel. Branches were afterwards opened in London and in

Rome. The Union proved to be not only a social club, but also an organization for war relief. It served as an important bond of union between the United States and the Allies. Its usefulness did not cease with the ending of hostilities. It is still, under somewhat changed conditions, serving the college men of the United States residing abroad.

Of the international academic activities and relations of the American Expeditionary Forces the American University in France was perhaps the first in importance as it was the last in time. This educational service was at its beginning under the charge of the Young Men's Christian Association. It had for its special executives, Professor John Erskine of Columbia University, Dr. Frank E. Spaulding, Superintendent of the Cleveland public schools, and Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. It was a foundation designed to give a higher education to American soldiers, serving in France who had been made free from certain military duties. It was placed in Beaune, Côte d'Or. One reason for the choice of this location lay in the fact that hospital buildings, already erected, were unoccupied, and were sufficient to serve some eight thousand students and teachers. The University was administered by military authority, Colonel Ira L. Reeves, formerly President

of Norwich University, Vermont, being made president.

The University was composed of as many and as different departments as a College of Agriculture, a College of Arts, a College of Business, a College of Education, a College of Engineering, a College of Journalism, a College of Law, a College of Letters, a College of the Medical Sciences, a College of Music, a College of Science, an Art Training Center at Bellevue, the Farm School of Allerey, and the Division and Post Schools at Beaune.

The teachers, numbering about one thousand, were drawn from the army and from the list of civilians, and were usually graduates of American schools and universities. The courses of instruction offered were those usually found in American academic curricula.

The students were likewise of diverse origins. They represented the usual scholastic training required for admission to the Freshman year of the ordinary college. Not a few of them had already been college students. They numbered about ten thousand, and the number credited to each state ran from seven — who claimed Nevada as their place of residence — to seven hundred seventy-one — who came from Pennsylvania. Seven hundred sixty-six were from the state of New York, and seven hundred and twelve from Illinois. The State of Ohio contributed

four hundred eighty men, Texas four hundred fifty-two, Michigan three hundred fifty-nine, Minnesota three hundred forty-nine, Indiana three hundred seventy-seven, every state in the Union being represented.

The Farm School at Allerey proved to be the most attractive, in which twenty-three hundred were enrolled, although in the more formal School of Agriculture, about seven hundred were registered. Following closely the Farm School was the College of Business, in which a number slightly below two thousand were matriculated. The College of Letters registered about a thousand, the College of Sciences, six hundred forty, the College of Engineering, six hundred sixteen, the College of Law, one hundred fifty-nine, and the College of Journalism, one hundred thirty-eight.

Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, an Educational Director, has written, regarding the worth of this service:—

“I am satisfied that its work was of very great value indeed. It had to be built hurriedly; it had to utilize material at hand; it had to adapt itself to unusual and changing conditions — but it ‘worked.’ Men were reached intellectually and spiritually. Technical information, knowledge of foreign conditions and languages, and great incentives were flower and fruit of the educational effort. It was all very

much worth while, and particularly because it was being done for American young men. It was a joy to work with them, to see them at close range, to realize their capacity for leadership.”¹

Significant details of the work of American students at Beaune and in the universities of France have been given me by another member of the Educational Commission, Dr. Frank E. Spaulding. He has said:—

“ . . . I think the most significant and the most valuable part of the result of this work in the French universities will be found not in what was actually learned in the classroom, not in the results which we look for in the classroom, although they were indeed very considerable and significant, but the most valuable result will indeed be found in the association of these intelligent, educated, chosen, selected young men, with the French students and with the people of the French communities where these universities were located. Without exception, the citizens of these French university towns gave great thought and constant care to make the life of our American students pleasant and agreeable and profitable. . . .

“ As was to be expected, the American students developed very quickly many of the characteristic ae-

¹ *School Life* (Department of the Interior), September 1st, 1919.

tivities of the American university and college. I think that, without exception, every group of American students at once began to issue some kind of college paper. In two or three instances, at least, they entered into an arrangement with some local paper whereby they published one edition a week at least, in coöperation with the local authorities. For instance, the first paper of that kind that I recall seeing was published at the University of Montpelier. In fact most of the four-page sheet was American — one side entirely, which was the front page — the reverse was French, also a front page. There was a similar publication at Dijon. I presume there may have been others, with the characteristic types of American journalism, including advertising and everything else. Such things as that entered into the spirit in which they did anything. It was, I think, of great value and made a lasting impression both on the American students and the French people concerned. There was also a system of personal exchanges among these men. Each American student was yoked up with some French student for the sake of the language, and intimate intercourse and association."

American soldier students, moreover, to the number of more than two thousand, were also enrolled in the universities of England, Scotland, Wales and

Ireland. They came from each of the states, Pennsylvania furnishing the largest number, one hundred seventy-six; New York, one hundred fifty-nine; Illinois, one hundred twenty-six; and Ohio, one hundred twenty-four. In more than three hundred American colleges, these men had previously been enrolled. Though they were scattered in a dozen different universities, the Student Detachment maintained a good degree of unified academic life. Inter-university visits, correspondence, and, in particular, a journal, "The American Soldier Student," served to join together these men in a foreign land. The paper, quite similar to the weekly paper published in hundreds of American colleges, in its number of June 25th, 1918, summed up the impressions, of three or more months, of British education:—

"No academic world," it is stated, "ever flung open its doors with greater hospitality than did this island one. . . . The great outstanding fact is that, in spite of the effects of the war upon faculty and fabric, the British institutions absorbed over two thousand American students as well as great numbers of Colonials in the third term of the academic year, and did it in a manner that will make it stand long as a high-water mark of academic hospitality. . . . But we did not confine our studies to books, or our steps to the limits of our college. Even before

we had time to explore our college town we were sought out by friends of the Entente, and civilian hospitality vied with the academic. . . . To a greater or less extent all of us availed ourselves of the countless opportunities afforded to enter into the life of our respective communities. We were not put off with one or two large formal affairs, we were taken into the home, and we were made to feel at home. Soon we began to go further afield. We made the whole kingdom our campus. We were scattered from Cambridge to Galway, and Bristol to Aberdeen; in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Most all of us visited the other fellow's diggings, and took in every place of interest on the way. Never perhaps in the history of the world has a body of students traveled so much in a limited period of time as we did. We made the so-called 'wandering students' of the Middle Ages look like hermits. Stratford-on-Avon, Loch Lomond, the Wye Valley, Blarney, and the Lakes of Killarney; is there any one who has not visited most if not all of these? And these are only the beginning of a long list which takes us to every corner of the two main islands and to some of the smaller ones. We were to be found in the tin, coal, and iron mines in Cornwall, Wales, and the Midlands; in the great textile, and iron and steel industries of Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, and Birming-

ham; in the shipyards on the Clyde; at the stock farms in Scotland, and on Jersey and Guernsey,—but the list is endless. We met all kinds of people, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, and everywhere we were welcomed with a warmth such as we would give our own. Most of us have told one another that we have learned a lot and unlearned a lot more about the British. We have learned that they and we have fundamentally the same outlook on life, the same aims and the same ideals. Altogether we found them much more like ourselves than we had thought. This suggests a way in which we can do a little to show our appreciation of a hospitality that we cannot repay. Now that we have had our earlier impressions of the British modified and rectified, let every one of us see to it that those with whom we come in contact at home benefit by our experiences here.”

The final word was a word of duty and of quickening for themselves returning to their homes and their colleges.

“Returning to our homes in all corners of the Union, we can be a power in the realm of Anglo-American relationships if we help our neighbors to see and understand the British people as we do now. If we do this, the interesting educational experiment we are now completing will have proved to be a suc-

cess, even if not a single one of us ever 'cracked a book.' " ¹

Apparently the impression which was made by the American students at Oxford was in turn pleasant and grateful. They entered with earnestness into all sides of the Oxford life, teaching, athletic, personal. They seemed rather more eager to know the teachers than to know the subjects taught. The courses they took represented variety rather than consistency, and these courses were determined largely by the interest which the lecturer, or teacher, himself awakened. Oxford idling — be it ever so profitable — apparently had less attractiveness for them than it has for the regular Oxford man. Out of the condition, every student apparently, by his own confession, received a good deal of intellectual quickening. This quickening was in no small part colored by a personal relationship, a relationship which, by the testimony of Oxford dons, was pleasant to them also.

In numbers of slight, but in significance, of great, value is a fact connected with the American Rhodes Scholars of Oxford. Since the inauguration of this symbol of English speaking fellowship in 1901 four hundred men have gone from the American states and colleges to Oxford. Of this number about three

¹ *The American Student Soldier*, No. 7, June 25, 1919. Published in London by the Student Detachment of the U. S. Army in Great Britain.

hundred were enrolled in the service, and twelve of this number died.

In the international relationships of the American college, it is never to be forgotten that, after all, scholarship is one of the comprehensive and enduring bonds of internationalism. An American teacher, Professor William Henry Hulme of Western Reserve University in an address, given to the Modern Language Association of America, in the year 1916 said:

“In a practical way, scholarship has performed wonders in the matter of drawing nations closer together during the last one hundred years. The studies of history, philology, philosophy and science have in that time all ceased to be national — have become international. How much have history and philology done, working along ethnical, anthropological lines, to familiarize people everywhere with the close kinship of nations in language, laws, political and social institutions, as well as in racial qualities, character, and temperament! And the sciences of biology and geology have revealed the marvelous unity and harmony that exists among all the creatures and objects of animate and inanimate nature. The names of many of the famous scholars of the past have become in the international sense household words. The Grimm brothers not only created the

science of comparative grammar, but they opened a great new world of folk-lore and fable, in which millions and millions of children from every part of the story-loving universe have dreamed and reveled for almost a century and will continue to do so to the end of time. The study of ancient and mediæval mythology from the comparative point of view has under the guidance of such scholars as Müllendorf, Meyer, and Bugge laid students in every part of the world under the greatest obligations. The debt of the world to the epoch-making discoveries in the field of science which Charles Darwin made and described is incalculable. The names and fame of those inspiring teachers and eminent scholars, Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, have reached and helped students of mediæval literature in every corner of the globe.”¹

The personal international relation,— and after all the personal is more important than the literary,— is well intimated in a tribute paid to the oldest American college by a patient in the 22nd General Hospital of France. The oldest American college provided supplies to the sisters and doctors of that hospital.

¹The chairman's address delivered December 27, 1916, at Chicago, Illinois, at the twenty-second annual meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, by William Henry Hulme—entitled “Scholarship as a Bond of International Union,” pages xciv and xcv.

A kindly word,
 A gentle touch,
 Little things
 That mean so much.

Laughter, bright
 As cheery lays,
 Chasing gloom
 On dreary days.

A pleasant smile
 As she goes by,
 Can you really
 Wonder why?

The boys all love
 The Sisters, who
 So help a fellow
 When he feels "blue."

Buck him up
 In spite of pain,
 Make him feel
 A man again.

Harvard! 'Twas
 A splendid deed
 When you supplied
 A vital need.

And sent us aid
 To "carry on,"
 Promising more
 Till wars are won.

A noble work
For a worthy end,
England thanks you,
Harvard — Friend.¹

¹ A Noble Work by Gilbert Ridge — *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, 1918, page 247.

XIII

THE FALLEN

On that last great day of the war, the day of the celebration of victory in Paris, the 14th of July, 1919, which was also Bastille Day, a large, deep casket was placed beneath the Arch of Triumph. It was in commemoration of the fallen. On the surface was an austere figure of winged Victory bearing a palm branch. By day and by night a noble guard of honor watched the memorial. Past its side there filed for hours out of the great line of march, a procession of those families who had lost a member. These mourners clothed in black might possibly have seemed to see lying at the bottom of the casket, the face of husband, son, brother. Each family that had made the supreme sacrifice of a member was allowed to throw into the cenotaph a single flower. Soon the huge casket was filled with memorial blossoms. France gave up more than a million and three hundred thousand of her sons in the consummate struggle.

By the last summary the United States had given

up less than eighty thousand. The figures on July 14th, 1919, were as follows: ¹

	Previously Reported	Reported July 14th	Total
Killed in action	33,901	7	33,908
Lost at sea	734	..	734
Died of wounds	13,618	16	13,634
Died of accident	23,479	25	23,504
Died of disease	5,090	14	5,104
	<hr/> 76,822		<hr/> 76,884

Of these numbers less than ten per cent. were college men. Although the casualty list will increase for years to come, yet, it is safe to say that about six thousand, five hundred of the hundred and seventy thousand of college men who enlisted died in the service.

The list that follows includes teachers, graduates, and former students. It does not include, be it said, the members of the Students' Army Training Corps. The percentage, therefore, of those who have lost their lives in the service is about four. This percentage is practically identical with the percentage of the men who fell, who were members of the Expeditionary Force.

The tables which follow are composed of reports made in most cases from statements furnished by the institutions themselves. Necessarily they are imper-

¹ The New York *Times*, July 14th, 1919.

fect. Every week changes the facts. Men will continue to die from the effect of the war for years to come. Reports, too, of men who died months or even years ago are delayed in reaching their colleges. But the statements are the fullest that can now be offered, and substantially the changes to be made in them in the future will not fundamentally alter the present compilations.

State	Died of Wounds	Died of Diseases	Total (from all causes)
Alabama	5	10	45
Arizona	5	5	10
Arkansas	4	13	18
California	34	39	245
Colorado	31	35	69
Connecticut	98	70	458
Delaware	4	8
District of Columbia	18	22	41
Georgia	43	27	77
Idaho	11	19	33
Illinois	88	102	319
Indiana	40	77	270
Iowa	55	100	163
Kansas	27	31	174
Kentucky	18	7	42
Louisiana	7	16	27
Maine	28	31	64
Maryland	25	18	51
Massachusetts	87	107	601
Michigan	31	24	284
Minnesota	52	38	106
Mississippi	5	4	16
Missouri	41	26	78

State	Died of Wounds	Died of Diseases	Total (from all causes)
Montana	8	10	19
Nebraska	43	43	99
Nevada	3	8	13
New Hampshire	24	35	82
New Jersey	92	53	169
New Mexico	1	5	6
New York	199	172	632
North Carolina	33	11	61
North Dakota	12	9	22
Ohio	73	112	231
Oklahoma	2		18
Oregon	23	50	93
Pennsylvania	77	94	191
Rhode Island	21	21	51
South Carolina	2	7	9
South Dakota	14	22	50
Tennessee	23	22	50
Texas	57	37	101
Vermont	14	12	30
Virginia	57	76	150
Washington	27	43	80
West Virginia	4	10	18
Wisconsin	27	25	56
Wyoming	4	5	9

5,419

These facts are most significant. They enlighten the understanding as well as move the heart. But the comparative relation of the number of the fallen to the number of the enlisted becomes mightily more significant. Let me give some examples:

New York University, from all its departments,

gave 1,476 men, graduates and students, of whom 36 died, or 2.4 per cent.

The University of Rochester enrolled 653 graduates and students in the service, of whom 11 died, or 1.68 per cent.

Columbia University sent between 8,000 and 9,000 into the service, of whom 188, or more, did not return, or 2.08 per cent.

Syracuse University gave 2,400 to the service, of whom 90 died, or 3.8 per cent.

Union University, from its undergraduate department, enrolled 876, graduates and students, in the service, of whom 26 died, or 3.08 per cent.

Hamilton College sent 761 into the service, of whom 13 did not return, or 1.7 per cent.

Fordham University, from its undergraduate department graduates and students, gave 493, and from its professional departments, 1001, of whom 60 did not return, or 4 per cent.

Williams College sent 2,229 into the service, of whom 49 did not return, or 2.2 per cent.

Massachusetts Agricultural College gave 1,330 to the service, of whom 50 died, or 3.75 per cent.

Worcester Polytechnic Institute sent 673 into the service, of whom 16 died, or 2.38 per cent.

Harvard University sent 9,009 men into the service, of whom 322 died, or 3.6 per cent.

Lafayette College enrolled 1,056 men, graduates and students, and 9 faculty members, in the service, of whom 32 did not return, or 3.09 per cent.

Pennsylvania College (not University) sent 285 into the service, of whom 12 died, or 4.2 per cent.

The University of Pittsburgh, from its undergraduate and professional departments, enrolled 2,559, graduates and students, and from its faculty members, 167, of whom 63 have fallen, or 2.3 per cent.

Swarthmore College, from its undergraduate department, sent 286 graduates and students into the service, of whom 3 died, or 1 per cent.

Dickinson College, from both its undergraduate department and professional classes sent out 558 graduates and students, of whom 16 died, or 2.85 per cent.

Franklin and Marshall College, from its graduates and students enrolled 345 men, of whom 13 died, or 3.8 per cent.

Ohio Wesleyan University, from its undergraduate department, sent 460 graduates and students into the service, of whom 16 have fallen, or 3.5 per cent.

Miami University, from its undergraduate department, gave 575 to the service, of whom 7 died, or 1.2 per cent.

Trinity College (Connecticut), from its undergraduate department, gave 523 graduates and students to the service, of whom 20 died, or 3.8 per cent.

Wesleyan University (Connecticut), sent 1,291 men into the service, of whom 27 have fallen, or 2.1 per cent.

Yale University, from its graduates and students, sent 7,000 into the service, of whom 220 died, or 3.1 per cent.

Princeton University, from all departments, enrolled 6,050, graduates and students, in the service, of whom 147 did not return, or 2.4 per cent.

Rutgers College gave 854 to the service, of whom 23 did not return, or 2.7 per cent.

Johns Hopkins University, from all its departments, sent 1,255 into the service, of whom 24 died, or 1.9 per cent.

St. John's College (Maryland) enrolled 400, of whom 24 made the supreme sacrifice, or 6 per cent.

The University of Michigan gave over 10,000, graduates and students, from its undergraduate and professional departments, and 200 from its faculties, of whom 222 did not return, or 2.2 per cent.

Michigan Agricultural College, from its undergraduate department, enrolled 730 graduates and students, of whom 25 did not return, or 3.4 per cent.

Kalamazoo College gave 212 men to the service, of whom 9 died, or 4.2 per cent.

Alma College enrolled 177 in the service, of whom 9 did not return, or 5.08 per cent.

Hope College enrolled 120 in the service, of whom 1 died, or .8 per cent.

The University of Illinois gave 4,993 graduates and students to the service, of whom 167 died, or 3.34 per cent.

Illinois Wesleyan University, from its undergraduate department gave 91, and from its professional departments gave 80, graduates and students, to the service, of whom 11 died, or 6.4 per cent.

Lake Forest College, from its undergraduate department, sent 115 graduates and students into the service, of whom 1 did not return, or .8 per cent.

Dartmouth College, from its undergraduate department gave about 1,200 graduates and students to the service, of whom 90 did not return, or 7.5 per cent.

Rhode Island State College, from its undergraduate department, enrolled 146, of whom 8 died, or 5.5 per cent.

Brown University sent 2,048 into the service, of whom 42 did not return, or 2 per cent.

Purdue University, from its undergraduate de-

partment, gave 2,639 graduates and students to the service, of whom 54 did not return, or 2 per cent.

Leland Stanford Jr. University, from its undergraduate department, gave 1,300 graduates and students to the service, of whom 59 died, or 4.5 per cent.

The University of California, from all its departments, enrolled 4,037 graduates and students, and from its faculties, 121, in the service, of whom 98 did not return, or 2.35 per cent.

St. Louis University, from its undergraduate department, enrolled 1,330, from its professional departments, 1,170, and from its faculty members, 77, of whom 39 did not return, or 1.5 per cent.

Lawrence College, from its undergraduate department enrolled 305 members, graduates and students, in the service, of whom 11 died, or 3.6 per cent.

The University of Washington, including members from the undergraduate and professional departments, graduates and students, and from the faculty, enrolled 2,238 in the service, of whom 37 did not return, or 2.6 per cent.

The University of Virginia, including undergraduate and professional departments, enrolled 2,875 in the service, of whom 66 died, or 2.3 per cent.

Fisk University (colored), from all its departments, gave 145 to the service, of whom 7 did not return, or 4.55 per cent.

The University of Georgia, from all its departments, gave 1,693 to the service, of whom 42 died, or 2.5 per cent.

Bowdoin College, from its undergraduate and medical departments, enrolled 1,215 in the service, of whom 29 did not return, or 2.4 per cent.

The University of North Dakota, from its undergraduate department and professional departments, gave 826 graduates and students, and from its faculties, 35, of whom 33 died, or 3.8 per cent.

These records and proportions are both significant and moving, and possibly more moving to the heart than to the mind. For, one ever remembers, in tenderness and gratitude, as President Faunce, of Brown University, has said in reference to the fallen of his own University:

“These young men were dear to their own households, but hardly less dear to Alma Mater. Some of them were leaders on the campus in former days. They sang the old songs and played the old games and dreamed of a long, bright future. Sooner than any thought have their dreams come true. Their faces vanish, but their souls are marching on.

“ ‘Taps’ has sounded for them; ‘reveille’ for us. Heaven helping us, we will be worthy of our unseen comrades.”¹

¹ “Brown University in the War,” page 16.

Upon the fallen and upon the survivors, many honors and decorations were bestowed. The record for the University of California is representative:—

“ Six countries awarded decorations to Californians who served in various capacities and places during the war. Fourteen of these men were recipients of two decorations; one received three.

“ The most prized decoration, the Distinguished Service Cross, awarded for conspicuous bravery, was given to eleven men. Three others received the Distinguished Service Medal, given for highly valuable services.

“ Other decorations and honors awarded are:— France; Legion of Honor, 7; Croix de Guerre, 36; Médaille Santé, 1; Belgium; Order of the Crown, 9; Order of the Cross, 5; British decorations, 3; Italian decorations, 5; Servian, 1.”¹

If one were to attempt to make mention of special cases of bravery, these pages would become too numerous. And yet I cannot refrain from quoting certain instances which, precious and moving in themselves, are still only illustrative.

A member of the Class of 1915 in the University of California was awarded the Croix de Guerre and D. S. C. “ for extraordinary heroism in action near

¹ From “The University of California Honor Roll,” page 14.

the Meuse River. When the company on his left was checked by heavy machine gun fire he led a platoon forward and surrounded a large number of the enemy, capturing 155 prisoners and seventeen machine guns. Pushing on, he took the town of Mim St. Georges and many machine gun positions. Although painfully wounded he refused to be evacuated and remained with his men for two days until he was ordered to the rear."

Another member, of the class of 1916, was cited "for bravery and coolheadedness in bringing his plane safely to earth after it had caught fire at 3,000 m. altitude and making a good landing in a strange field and extinguishing the fire without help."

A member of the following class was awarded D. S. C. "for displaying conspicuous leadership. He led his platoon against an enemy battery while it was in action. Through his skillful maneuvering forty-two prisoners, ten pieces of artillery and five machine guns were captured."

A member of the class of 1918 was awarded the Croix de Guerre with palms by France at the battle of the Meuse, "for extraordinary heroism in action." He "displayed the highest qualities of courage and leadership in leading his platoon through to its objective under a heavy barrage of machine-gun

and artillery fire without flank support. He held his objective under murderous artillery and machine-gun fire until relieved." ¹

The percentage of American college men who gave up their lives in the Civil War is much larger than the proportion of those who made the great sacrifice in the present. In round numbers, Harvard sent 9,000 into the war, of whom about 322 died, or 3.6 per cent. To the Civil War she gave 1,232 men, of whom 138 died, or 11.2 per cent. To the Civil War also, Yale sent 832 men into the Northern service, of whom 100 died, or 12 per cent. Of the colleges of the South sending men into the Civil War, the University of Virginia and the University of North Carolina stand forth preëminent. No less than 200 students of the University of Virginia gave up their lives defending their State. Of the University of North Carolina, 312 died, which was about 40 per cent. of the graduates for the forty years preceding the attack on Ft. Sumter. It would probably be fair to say that the percentage of the number of college students, graduates and teachers losing their lives in the Civil War was four times greater than the percentage of the number losing their lives in the World War.

Of course, the reason is not far to seek. The Civil

¹ Ibid., pages 15-16.

War occupied four years. The Civil War made a more mighty appeal to the colleges of the North than did the present war, and the appeal made to the colleges of the South in the great civil struggle was of incomparable intensity.

Inspiring and thrilling as was the record made by American college men in the present war, it was yet not so great as that made by the colleges of the Allies. The universities of Canada sent forth a far greater proportion of their sons than did the colleges and universities of the nation south of the line. The University of Toronto, for instance, contributed about 5,400 men from students' bench and professors' chair, of whom 604 gave up their lives, or somewhat more than 10 per cent. McGill University, at Montreal, offered a like record.

The entrance of the graduates and undergraduates of the English universities was at least as moving as the enlistment of the American college men. The English came into the war earlier by almost three years; and the war to them meant a richer sacrifice, almost as much more sacrificial as the English Cambridge is nearer to the Marne than is the American city on the Charles. The great human motives, however, were alike, influencing and inspiring both bodies of academic youth. The conditions of simplicity, of quietness, of naturalness, of high resolve, of spiritual

exultation, and of honor mark both sets of students. A sense of humanity, of patriotism, and the instinct of doing one's duty were alike present. As with a garment, that Anglo-Saxon sense of duty clothed the American student and the English. Nelson's call has entered the academic cloister. Of this condition no worthier interpreter could be found than the Master of Magdalene at Cambridge, who writing of the enrollment of Cambridge men said :

“ What I would make clear, above everything, is the extreme simplicity of it all. It is just the steady setting of a great current of emotion in one direction. It is not a question of argument or motive or excitement, or even of indignation ; it is not even a conscious sense of duty or honor. It is something stronger and finer than all these, a passion of citizenship and humanity, which, so far from growing dim and faint in long peace and prosperity, seems to have been nurtured into a freshness and spontaneity which no imagination could have foreseen. Englishmen are often accused of individualism and an almost fantastic personal independence ; it is all true, so far as the smaller things of life are concerned. But the war has revealed that when once a national need stands out, there is no sacrifice, no endurance, no loss which the Englishman is not prepared to face ; and not to persuade himself into it, or to trample upon

one part of his nature, but to mingle with the stream, to flow with it, and to find in this prodigious unity the satisfaction of his best hopes and desires.”¹

In a similar spirit, Sir Herbert Warren, the President of Magdalen, Oxford, wrote:

“No city in England is more changed by the War than Oxford. None speaks its effect more eloquently than this fair, mournful witness. It is with the eloquence of her sad, mute self, but the figures given below of the Oxford ‘Roll of Service’ are also eloquent. Eleven thousand old Oxford men have passed into the service of their country. Over 1,400 have already fallen; 100 more are missing — 1,500 in all, among them many of the best scholars, the finest athletes, the leaders of their years. But this does not bring home the absolute devastation and desolation of what may be called actual living Oxford as she was before the War. There should be well over 3,000 undergraduates at this moment in residence. In June, 1914, every college was full to overflowing. Step into any one to-day! If it is full at all, it is full of young soldiers in khaki! When they are out it is empty. The remnant of undergraduates, the invalid, the crippled, the neutrals, make abso-

¹ Article by Dr. Arthur C. Benson, Master of Magdalene, Cambridge University — *British Universities and the War* — page 9.

lutely no show at all. They can hardly be discovered. Colleges which before the War contained 150 now contain half a dozen. Emptiness, silence reign everywhere. The younger teachers are gone too.”¹

A similar record is the history of the Scotch universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. St. Andrews, the oldest and the smallest of the quartette, sent 55 members of its staff enrolled, 498 graduates and former students, and 258 undergraduates, or a total of 811 into the service. Of this number 117 fell.

Glasgow, the second in age gave no less than 3,363 of students and graduates to the naval and military service, of whom no less than 2,650 held commissions. Of this number, 525 were killed or died of their wounds. The number of the missing exceeded 600.

A similar report belonged to the University of Aberdeen. 2,786 members and alumni were engaged in all branches of the service, of which 295 did not return.

The Roll of Honor of the University of Edinburgh was yet more conspicuous, although no more worthy. The total enrollment was 5,162, of whom 649 died.

¹ Article by Sir Herbert Warren, K. C. V. O., President of Magdalen, Oxford University — *British Universities and the War* — page 3.

The list of honors that belonged to each of these universities is long, distinguished, thrilling. In Edinburgh it included 500 names, in Aberdeen, more than 300, in St. Andrews more than 100. And in Glasgow, more than 600. The Scotch universities, always the home of patriotism, have never more gloriously proved their valor.

The newer Midland universities manifested the same spirit of patriotic devotion. The number of the students was in some instances reduced to one-fourth of the usual enrollment. They especially devoted themselves to scientific research, and of many kinds. Professors of chemistry and of mining, of course, made important contributions. Electrical engineers were engaged on wireless telegraphy and telephone equipment. Pathological professors were busy in hospitals. Individual universities made unique offerings. The coal, gas and fuel industry departments of Leeds were assigned to the duty of testing high explosives and of analyzing coal tar. The leather industry department gave attention to the leather equipment of the forces. The engineers tested metals in aeroplane spars and gave instruction in elementary machine work for munition workers. The textile industry department examined army cloth and aeroplane fabrics. And the color chemistry department took an active part in scien-

tile research respecting the making of dyes. Each university of the Midlands mobilized every force for the winning of the war. Never was there an experience in their history which commandeered so completely all faculties and every facility.

But perhaps a yet more moving presentation is found in the contribution made by French students and teachers. No less than 259 professors of literature, science, medicine and law of the University of Paris or of the provincial universities gave up their lives, and the number of teachers, schoolmasters and professors in the various schools and colleges of France, who sacrificed all for their beautiful land reaches the great total of 6,000. The University of Paris writes 635 names on its roll of honor. The story of the student patriot and of the patriot student touches the depths of the grateful heart. The greatness of the offering becomes the more impressive when it is remembered that at the beginning of the year 1914 the number of students in the French Universities was only 42,000.

The record of the college men in the war of all nations is a record which thrills. I would not say it is a record more glorious than that of non-college men, but it is certainly at least as glorious. Hundreds of them have been cited for heroism. Each individual instance bears its own form of bravery, but

all are alike in certain great respects. Alike are the records in contempt of danger; alike in the endurance of pain; alike in the force of will overcoming physical weakness; alike in showing poise and calmness when the temptation was to lose one's head and one's nerves; alike in risking life to save a comrade; alike in supporting the morale of the line when it was in danger of breaking; alike in throwing away leave tickets and returning to the charge; alike, when one was wounded in leg or thigh, hopping and crawling, delivering messages. It was the brain as well as the heart and the will that did the duty of the hour and of the day. The record belongs alike to the air, to the sea, and to the land. It belongs quite as much to the wounded who recovered, as to the wounded and the dead. It really belongs quite as much and essentially to the college men who wanted to go overseas and over the top, and were not able, as to those who did venture and sacrificed all.

The mood in which all was borne was such as becometh the gentleman. The college man fought at Cambrai and Château Thierry, and with determination, discrimination, and exultation. He bore his wounds in hospital wards with a stoic patience which does not belong to impulsive youth. He wore his crown of thorns, as one has said, as if it were cap and bells. He was at once careless and serious, frivo-

lous and religious, living in the full for to-day, and not forgetting the forthcoming to-morrow; free from hate for his enemy, but determined to punish him for all his ill doings, serving his native land, yet remembering he was a soldier of humanity; true to the human brotherhood, yet not forgetting the divine Father.

It is a ghostly procession, too, which the pious imagination beholds. The dead college men go marching by. It is a motley, young, silent throng. Some wear the scholar's gown and the student's cap, some the track, and some the rowing, uniform, but all do wear the khaki. All are watchful and strong, resolute and happy. Hope shines on their foreheads. A smile breaks on their faces, and a sense of freedom swings along in their march. With a lithe step and strong stride, they move steadily up their *via sacra*, keeping time to songs which seem half college and half patriotic. They have gone west, but their sun of remembrance shall never set in the college halls where once they walked, and on the walls of which, their names, cut in bronze, shall be held in lasting love.

"They gave their manly youth away for country and for God."

"The dead do not die

Who fall in the cause that angels uphold;

For the Right will be Right while the stars sail the sky."

XIV

THE COMMENCEMENTS OF THE WAR PERIODS

The three commencements which fell in the American war period were each of unique impressiveness. They also showed fundamental differences in emphasis as in time. In the commencement of the year 1917, less than three months after the declaration of war, the martial note could be plainly heard, and it was heard quite as much in the voice of prophecy as of affirmation, quite as much as an expression of hope or of fear as of achievement. In the commencement of 1918 a different spirit prevailed. Strength, determination, assurance, the glory of sacrifice, the value of duty, the absolute certainty of fighting the war unto victory, were the key-notes of address and oration. In the commencement of 1919 a still further change was seen and heard. Victory had been won. America was in tears, and was also glad and grateful.

The commencements of 1918 and of 1919 were impressive in the depleted classes that came up for their degrees. In one college at least, Hobart, in

1918, no commencement was held. In even the Civil War period the usual commencement had been observed, but in 1918 only three members of the senior class remained and barely thirty-five students of the whole, though small, enrollment. In 1918 Brown University gave only fifty-one degrees to men; Princeton only sixty-five; Yale only three hundred to all graduates rather than the usual number of eight hundred; Amherst sixty-four; and Harvard eight hundred and nineteen of which two hundred and forty-seven represented the Bachelor degree. Harvard also gave three hundred and twenty-one certificates or qualified degrees to men who had entered the military and naval service of the United States or of the Allies. In 1919 Dartmouth conferred one hundred and seventy-five degrees, and thirteen men of the class had fallen in the service. Bates conferred one hundred degrees on both men and women, the University of Vermont one hundred and seven, also on both men and women, Bowdoin sixty-seven and several certificates of honor to men who were still in the service in France. Cornell in 1919 conferred only three hundred and thirty-three degrees, the smallest number for many years.

The academic festivities too witnessed a curtailment commensurate with the lessened numbers. The customary functions were abridged or united. Sim-

plicity prevailed. Unnecessary expense was avoided. Spreads were few and guests also were few. Graduates' reunions were not held or were held in a very sober manner. Many alumni did not lend themselves to festivities in which their hearts could not be gay. Hilarity lessened. One purpose was to save money and to give the money thus saved to the Red Cross or other war activities.

In all festivities formal and informal, however lessened, certain key-notes were struck, in Baccalaureate sermon and Presidential address, and in the speeches of representative students and alumni. Chief among these notes were loyalty to the nation, leadership, vision, public service, the uses of victory won or to be won, respect for the humanistic classics, faith in the future, the world's reconstruction. Not unfamiliar are such sentiments to commencement audiences, but the war being fought or the war having been won, gave to these topics peculiar emphasis. Graduation offered unique opportunities for their application. Occasionally a voice was heard proclaiming that there were other causes in the world besides the war, or its origin, conduct and results. But these dissentient intimations were both few and rather inaudible.

Mr. Herbert Hoover at the Harvard commencement of 1917, having received a degree, said: "The Belgian relief was not my labor; it was the labor of

two hundred American university men. . . . This army of civilians is an army of specialists, and they can be officered only by the men from their own ranks — from the commercial body of the nation who have knowledge and experience in all of the multitudinous branches of their production and labor; and in this officership from the industrial ranks is the security of democracy. These men must have authority and power to act. We give power to direct, and even that of life and death over our citizens, to the officers of our regular army. These powers have the restraint only of law and public opinion. Is it more wrong to give the right to direct the use of property to the officers of this civilian army, subject also to law and public opinion? Has this country descended to a level of materialism that leads it to force its sons to the trenches and to demand immunity for its property? If we are to cling to luxury and profit, our sons and the sons of the allies will die in vain.”¹ At the same college the President of the Alumni Association in the commencement of the following year, Dr. George A. Gordon said: “The war that fills our minds today is the war of the preservation of humanity. Nothing less is at stake than the integrity of the moral life of the race, the moral fellowship of man-

¹ *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, page 749 and 750 of 1916-1917.

kind, the reality of justice among men and nations, the right of all peoples, great and small, to express in freedom their individual genius, upon that portion of the earth's surface which they call their own; a portion of the earth made beautiful by family life, the mystic influence of an extended ancestry, and the hallowing power of an immemorial fellowship in toil, in joy, and in hope.

“When faith between man and man, nation and nation ceases, faith between man and the Infinite ceases or remains only as a withered and sickening hypocrisy. The origins of our Christian civilization are in a moral league with the Eternal, supported, made sincere and availing, by a moral league among human beings. Our highest possessions, and our best hopes for mankind are the fruit of this double fundamental faith.

“Here our country claims our utmost homage; she is indeed illustrious in the character that she has won. If she had thought meanly of herself she could have evaded this war. If she had been willing to make a league with death and a covenant with hell, she might have added to her wealth and ease. She would not, she could not play the rôle of betrayer to the humanity of man. At her own cost, and for no vulgar gain, she has gone forth the soldier of humanity. There-

fore, she stands before the world with clean hands and a pure heart.”¹

At the commencement of Yale in 1918, President Hadley, speaking to the Alumni on What War Had Done for Yale, said: “The war has thus far proved on the whole a source of strength rather than weakness to the college. For the first time in many years it has had a dominant motive that it could set before its students; a motive which, in spite of frequent difficulties and occasional backslidings, took hold of the student body as a whole.

“We have always spoken of Yale as a place devoted to public service. We have tried to make public service the distinctive idea and purpose of Yale education. Now for the first time we have been able to give this word ‘public service’ a concrete meaning which the students understand. The uniform of the Army or Navy which they wear is a visible symbol of the purpose for which they come. The Yale student of to-day is no longer here to have a good time. He is here to prepare himself for something — Army, Navy, engineers; or if disqualified from all these, for helping to win the war at home. This gives to academic study the zeal and spirit which was formerly reserved for professional study. Trigo-

¹ *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, page 759 of 1917-1918.

nometry has a new meaning when it serves as a basis for practical work in navigation or for firing data. Many a man who is unable to appreciate mathematics for its own sake becomes surprisingly proficient when he finds that it will enable him to hit his enemy at three miles' distance. What is true of mathematics is true of French and is true of history. Each study gains new life when it prepares a man to take part in war problems.

“Not only do the students feel that they are engaged in a work of preparation; they have gone far enough to see that they have accomplished something. They no longer have to take the word of their instructors that the curriculum of the Yale Field Artillery School, or the somewhat more elastic course of the Yale Naval Training Unit, will prepare them for service. They have visible signs before them that it does prepare them. Seventy line commissions in the Navy out of seventy-one men sent up by Yale is a visible and tangible object lesson to those who stay at home as to the direct connection between what they do here and what they will be able to do hereafterward. The readiness of the Government to take all our artillerists, of every age, into Government camps is perhaps an even clearer object lesson, because it comes directly home to each boy, whether he is of

draft age or not, and shows him that the Government needs men who understand trigonometry even more than men who know the manual of arms.”¹

At the commencement of the University of Michigan, Dean Keppel of Columbia, serving as Third Assistant Secretary of War, said:

“What have we learned? In the first place, we have learned that as a nation, we possess the power to see a big job through, and we possess it because we have the qualities of youth — enthusiasm, learning, capacity, energy, elasticity, initiative — the pioneering spirit. We have the shortcomings of youth also — impatience, superficiality, improvidence, cock-sureness — but when the test came we strengthened our virtues and to a large extent overcame our failings.

“In the second place, we have learned that to see the job through we need all of the nation, men and women, not merely the professional arms and the mysterious powers of finance — we need all of every one. We need them not as individuals, but as a team and we have learned that we can develop team play.

“Our easiest jobs were the raising of our men and our money; our hardest, the molding of the whole into an organic unity.

“We should never again face a great national

¹ *Boston Transcript*, June 19th, 1918.

crisis with nearly one-third of our men of military age unfit for hard physical work. We need campaigns of physical education and social hygiene, and we need to apply the lesson in human salvage which the army has learned during the war.

“In the third place, we have learned that to accomplish a good result, we need the leadership of those who know, and who know vividly and constructively. Our experience has shown that in certain fields, finance, science, manufacturing in quantity production, welfare work, we had a supply of those who knew. In other fields, in intimate knowledge of foreign conditions and foreign languages, for example, we had not. At first we didn't know where our leaders were, and in many cases we began by following false prophets.

“The vital importance of a thorough knowledge of where the man we need is to be found can be shown by an example: A code message from Germany, directing the dismantling of the German ships which lay in our American ports, was intercepted. If we had known that there was a professor of English in the University of Chicago, who in the pursuit of his mediaeval researches had developed the power of reading ciphers almost at sight, that cable from Germany could have been promptly deciphered, the sabotage forestalled, and something like six months in the use

of these ships for the transport of troops and munitions could have been gained.

“ The fourth lesson of which I wish to speak is that a high aim and ideal is what counts most of all, and what lifts the individual up from selfishness and sloth. What bound the country together and made the transformation which still seems miraculous, was the noble national aim, the complete dedication to the task before us, the utter absence of any selfish or self-seeking factor in the whole enterprise. The conduct of our soldiers, their submission to a discipline to which most of them were completely unused was, I think, in a large measure due to this recognition.” ¹

At the Commencement of Cornell University of 1919, Ex-Governor Charles E. Hughes said:

“ With the world in ferment, we are appraising the steadying and conserving influences and we look to the university for something more than the discharge of its primary and distinctive function in instruction. What aid may we expect to counteract the destructive aims of those who would wreck free government and enthrone the tyranny of class hatred? Democracy cannot be saved by arms, our victory has preserved the opportunity to have democracy. But it remains for the testing days of peace to determine whether democracy itself can be preserved.

¹ *Detroit Free Press*, 26th of June, 1919.

The success of the endeavor must be the result of many coöperating forces, preëminent among which will be the sentiment and convictions of men trained in the higher institutions of learning.

“The battle of free government is never completely won. It is an age-long struggle against foes without and more insidious and dangerous foes within. Now, with tyrants overthrown and autocracy destroyed in its last citadel, we must fight anew. Where in democracy should we look for the champions of the fundamental principles of liberty, if not in the students of history — to those who have pondered over the long contests for equal rights?”¹

These lengthy extracts and many others which might be added voice the general and highest sentiments of the human soul. They are the sentiments of youth and of age, of the one who believes in America first, and the one who believes in the Allies first. They touch the deepest elements of humanity and they ascend to the utmost limits of the imagination of man.

Among the significant elements of the commencements and especially of that of 1919, were the honorary degrees given to those who were engaged in the war or in service connected with the war. Vermont gave to Admiral Mayo the degree of LL.D. in 1919,

¹ *Boston Transcript*, June 21st, 1919.

and Bates the same degree to Major General Hersey. Princeton, Yale and other colleges gave to Davidson, President of the Red Cross, the degree of LL.D. Holy Cross College of Worcester gave to William Mulligan, Director of the Knights of Columbus War Activities, also an LL.D. In the commencement of that year also, Rear Admiral Sims received an LL.D. from both Yale and Harvard. The University of Pennsylvania conferred on Brigadier General Atterbury, the degree of LL.D. in 1919.

In this same relationship also is heard the keynote of internationalism. For both Oxford and Cambridge conferred on General Pershing a degree in 1919, and Oxford gave a D.C.L. to Herbert Hoover in the same year. Lord Reading received an LL.D. at several American universities. Columbia gave an LL.D. to Secretary Lansing in 1918, and Wisconsin gave one to Marcel Knecht of the French High Commission in recognition of his work in promoting friendly relations and mutual understanding between the people of the United States and his own nation. Amherst in 1918 gave the degree of LL.D. to Lieutenant General, Sir James Wilcox, the Governor of Bermuda.

It may also be said that Brown University, at its one hundred and fiftieth annual commencement, took away the degree which had been previously conferred

upon Ambassador Bernsdorff. The vote annulling the honor declared that while he was Ambassador of the Imperial German Government to the United States, and while the two nations were still at peace, he was guilty of conduct unworthy of a gentleman and a diplomat.

Certain degrees that might be called war degrees were also conferred upon students who had entered the national service from the college and had not returned. These degrees took various forms and were based upon different foundations. It may in general be said that the degree of Bachelor of Arts and the degree of Bachelor of Science were conferred upon students of several colleges who had finished at least three of the four years of college residence. The custom begun in American colleges in the Spanish-American War to substitute in a formal way, service in the Army or Navy for academic study was thus continued and ennobled. The feeling was common throughout every commencement in every college, that no recognition could be too honorable for those who had laid aside the academic gown and had put on the uniform. The following examples are representative:—

At Knox College, those who were in war service during the first semester, and who returned and completed satisfactorily courses of not less than fifteen

hours each week in the second semester, received credit for one year's work. Those who left in the second semester of their Junior year received their degrees the following year upon completing fifteen hours. Trinity shortened the Easter vacation, placed Commencement later than usual, rushed the classes a little faster than usual, and endeavored to graduate with a year's credit those who returned to college during the winter term, after national service. Johns Hopkins gave a full year's credit to those who returned from the service in the middle of the year. Union College, by starting new courses and by admitting men to classes for which they were perhaps not altogether qualified, attempted to make it possible for men to get a year of credit for two terms' work.

XV

SOME ENDURING EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE COL- LEGES AND THE UNIVERSITIES

To write of the enduring effects of the war on the colleges and the universities is to lay aside in part the function of the historian and to assume, in an equal degree, the function of the prophet. But, if one were to await the full knowledge of the enduring effects of any cause or force, in order to write its history, no history would be written. At the present time, however, certain effects, which apparently are to continue, have become more or less manifest.

One effect which is not occurring, be it first said, relates to the seriousness of the depletion of the forces of educated American manhood. The number of college men killed is small as compared to the losses suffered by the universities of Great Britain and of France. Neither is the American loss at all comparable to the losses suffered by the Southern States in the Civil War. For fifty years, the share of the Southern people in the development of American society was unworthy of their earlier history. The

natural leaders in the later decades of the nineteenth century, while these decades were passing, were resting in their graves. No similar condition will prevail in the whole United States in the middle decades of the twentieth century.

In a further prefatory way, it should be said that two temporary results became manifest when the colleges opened their doors for the first complete post-war year of 1919-1920. The Freshmen, who entered in September of that year, came up with a less adequate fitness than the beginning classes of preceding years. For the necessities which the war laid on high school and academic students had sent them out from their classrooms onto the farms as ploughmen and vine dressers in the foregoing spring months. They had thus been allowed to shorten their preparatory years of study in order to raise grain for the nations. They had also suffered an interruption of their senior year by reason of the influenza of the autumn of 1918. These two conditions affected the colleges themselves no less than the high schools. The men of the first complete year following the war found the doing of their college work difficult by reason of inadequate preparation and impaired physical vigor,—and this work was not on the whole well done.

This scholastic effect had relationship to the morale

of students reëntering college: students, in the year following the war, were less studious. Their studies made a less strong appeal to them, and the appeal was less strongly answered. For, while they were engaged in service over-seas, they were called upon to be obedient soldiers. Their wishes were not consulted. Their duties were diverse and compelling. Their wills and their bodies performed the chief functions of daily discipline. Their intellects had small share in the concerns of the camp. The return to the college, therefore, was a return from affairs volitional and physical to affairs intellectual. The return was not an easy one to make. The transfer of interest from obedient doing to critical, consistent, and continuous thinking was difficult. The result, in consequence, was general unrest, emotional dissatisfaction, and mental dissipation. The right to complain against the national, and to be rebellious against the college, government was recognized as almost a duty! But, as the college months passed, these elements became less evident, and in the progress of the year, they were found to be vanishing.

An effect, also, which may not be permanent, but which will certainly continue for at least several years, is found in the vast increase of students. The increase is general, covering all colleges. It represents an enlargement of numbers of about one-third.

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ENROLLMENT FIGURES FOR 1919-20, 1918-19, 1916-17

Name of College	1919-20	1918-19	1916-17
Allegheny	515	571	395
Amherst	503	387	505
Bates	472	402	473
Boston College	700	591	675
Boston University	5,396	3,162	2,917
Bowdoin	453	372	434
Brown	1,295	964	1,140
Bryn Mawr	444	472	447
Clark	202	203	153
Colgate	545	371	581
* Columbia	15,828	9,910	14,229
Connecticut College	305	300	204
Cornell	5,152	3,480	4,746
Dartmouth	1,733	772	1,501
Depauw	853	897	740
Goucher	783	706	612
Hamilton	299	259	220
Harvard	5,204	3,894	5,656
Holy Cross	702	650	560
Indiana State	2,347	2,029	1,131
Johns Hopkins	3,200	1,976	2,782
Knox	500	508	506
Lafayette	700	462	634
Lehigh	1,100	800	775
Leland Stanford	2,443	1,507	2,012
Mass. Agricultural	742	440	695
Mass. Inst. of Technology.....	3,092	1,821	1,957
Middlebury	479	386	372
Mt. Holyoke	815	874	824
New Hampshire	806	607	666
* New York University.....	9,695	5,470	7,719
Northwestern	5,732	3,693	5,078
Norwich	270	241	196
Oberlin	1,535	1,410	1,496

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Name of College	1919-20	1918-19	1916-17
Pennsylvania State	3,065	2,496	2,472
Princeton	1,658	884	1,410
Radcliffe	625	527	675
Rhode Island State	343	255	336
Simmons	1,269	1,027	1,088
Smith	1,998	2,103	1,917
* Syracuse	4,800	4,033	4,088
Trinity	227	282	246
Tufts	2,003	1,727	1,751
Univ. of California	9,208	6,087	6,467
Univ. of Chicago	4,424	3,387	3,718
Univ. of Illinois	8,076	5,617	7,023
Univ. of Maine	1,193	1,137	1,276
* Univ. of Michigan	9,800	7,517	6,600
* Univ. of Pennsylvania	10,321	4,934	8,761
Univ. of Rochester	677	533	509
Univ. of the South	255	208	188
Univ. of Vermont	844	658	672
Univ. of Virginia	1,453	957	1,067
Univ. of Washington	5,056	3,352	3,215
Univ. of Wisconsin	6,949	4,413	5,020
Vassar	1,105	1,120	1,102
Wellesley	1,526	1,594	1,572
Western Reserve	1,925	1,448	1,583
Williams	555	377	552
Yale	3,461	3,064	3,262
Worcester Polytechnic	567	474	539
Totals	158,816	111,177	130,630

* Includes summer school registration.

(*Boston Evening Transcript*, 29th Nov., 1919; collected by the competent college editor, Henry T. Claus.)

The cause of the increase was fourfold. One cause was that many boys and girls had been delayed

in coming to college. The war interrupted the achievement of their educational purposes. They were now able to begin to realize an aim for their education which would have been realized in the normal processes, two or three years earlier.

A second cause lay in the fact that money was more abundant. Prices had vastly increased. But the college fees had, in certain colleges, not at all increased, and in others seldom more than twenty-five per cent. In relation to other values, the cost of education was and is the lowest of all utilities. It is the only instance in modern life in which one is receiving many fold more than the expenditure.

The third reason of the increase lay in the great service which the colleges rendered in the war. This service touched every interest of modern life. The loyalty of students and graduates, a mighty sense of unity and fellowship, the outpouring of vast enthusiasms, devotion to duty, represent the normal results of academic training. These results have had a moving influence upon the community. The younger boys and girls wanted to enter into such a life.

The fourth cause was found in the fact that men's minds had been impressed with the worthiness of things intellectual and spiritual. They had learned that these are the eternal values. They had also learned that the things seen are material and that

these things are temporal. They were eager in their idealism to possess the enduring values.

A further result, rather circumstantial than essential, which gave and gives lasting assurance to the friends of higher education, was found in the new evidence offered by the war of the worthiness of the American university and college. The Middle Ages gave to the modern world, either as original or mediating forces, three institutions:—the Empire, the Papacy, and the University. The Empire was finally dissolved by Napoleon. The Papacy endures, yet shorn of much of its political power and prestige. The University alone comes forth, with each succeeding decade, with power increased and prestige augmented. The university has not only proved to be humanistic, but, what is far more important, human. It is patriotic and interpatiotic, national and international. Its teachers are not remote from human concerns. They are easily responsive to all human ideals. Its students are kindled, by simple words and deeds, unto flaming devotions.

The war also gave a higher appreciation of that simple but fundamental element, the value of physical health. The returned soldier student returned carrying a more vigorous body. His manlier bearing, his fuller chest, his larger and harder muscles, his clearer eye, his greater robustness, proved, as

these qualities themselves manifested, his firm and usually firmer health. These results were the normal effects of regular life, lived under proper discipline in the open. These results were, according to the military commander, necessary causes and forces for the carrying forward of the normal movements of warfare. The hospital is not a tool of aggressive conflict. The soldier learned that about one-third of all drafted men were rejected by reason of physical deformities or deficiencies. He learned also the unspeakable peril and penalties of venereal disease. Out of all these diverse conditions and causes, the student, coming from the ranks, came to the college bearing in his body an illustration of the value of health which gave silent and impressive lessons to all his associates.

Closely associated with the resulting appreciation of the value of good health was the element of military training in the colleges. Many college officers and college students who were engaged in the service in France, and college graduates who did or who did not go over-seas, have, as a result of the training of and in and for the war, come to hold opinions opposed to military training as a constituent part of the college course. It was and is recognized by all that military training in the college may represent a certain coöperative citizenship. It also represents obedi-

ence, which is the first duty of the soldier and, in certain respects, the first duty of the student. It stands also for the control of appetites and the curbing of passion. It does, or should, mean the eliminating or the curing of obscure physical weaknesses and the promotion of physical strength. Properly pursued, it might help to form permanent habits of good physical exercise. It also embodies the progressive element in such exercise; for military training passes on from the simple to the less simple, from the less simple to the complex, and from the complex to the more complex.

But also it has been recognized that military training in the college is not usually interesting. To the Freshmen it may have some fascination. It is new and pulsates with a touch of the world of vision and of glory. But, as the months or the years pass, its interest vanishes. The students of one college petitioned for a military training course to be introduced. Within less than twelve months, not less than seventy-five per cent. of the enrollment petitioned for its abolition. Most students are rebellious against accepting it as a required academic course. In its lack of interest, it is not so recreative as it should be, and whatever recreation it does possess is rather of a stilted and mechanical form, without imagination or a sense of fun. It has also been

proved that it is difficult to fit it into the other elements of the curriculum. Evidence is not lacking that it does not adjust itself so well to the physical and other needs of the student as a more diversified form of exercise. Variations from its standards are few and infrequent. The attempts, therefore, made to establish the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in the colleges have not met with a general degree of success. The spirit of rebelliousness to it is not quite so marked as the spirit of opposition to the more ordinary type of military training. But the rebelliousness is still marked. It has come to be felt by many college officers that the best preparation for the service of a soldier consists in giving him a strong, vigorous body, facile and forceful, united with a strong, vigorous mind, also facile and forceful. Such a body and such a mind united in one person, distinguished military officers say, can be formed, in the course of a brief time, into the stuff for a good soldier, and even into first-rate material for service as an officer.

A further effect was manifest in the greater seriousness pervading the ranks of students. The play element was lessened. Silly self-indulgence was curbed. The religious service of the college chapel commanded fuller attendance, closer attention, and an attitude of deeper worship. Snap courses became

less popular. Studies that serve well in life's struggles were more generally elected. Teachers who inspire and quicken were more constantly sought. The presence of the soldier, wounded or unwounded, contributed to this result. The man on crutches, with a happy face peering up and out between the bars, and the man who had been gassed, with a face worn, thin, pale, greatly added to this feeling of seriousness.

This feeling of seriousness arose in part from a broader and more intimate knowledge of the European world. To the men who had been in Europe in the wartime, history was made more vital. America is a new country, and Americans do not possess the long and rich historic background. Their conditions necessitate such ignorance. Living for months, or years, in France serves to impress upon a man of the new world, the significance of a long historic yesterday. The present American conditions also became through foreign residence more visible and more impressive. Problems, national, international, individual, were seen more clearly in their outlines and content. Under such conditions, the returned soldier student inevitably became more serious in thought and feeling.

This academic effect had relation to a further result. It was the result of the acceptance on the part of the students of a deeper responsibility for the com-

munity. The college man came to know that he should assume,—always, of course, in humility,—the spirit of leadership of the community. His power of insight into conditions is keener and broader, his appreciation of the worth of the forces of the commonwealth is more adequate, and his ability to apply these forces is greater, than belong to the ordinary membership. Such conditions were especially strong in the years following the war.

The enhanced appreciation, which the community gained, of the higher education was also the result of a deeper appreciation of themselves by the colleges. Colleges are always responsive to the feelings and judgments of the community to a degree which neither the college nor the community realizes. The colleges learned, through the war, that the education they offer is worthy of humanity, that the disciplined mind which they create by a formal training is the most effective force in the world, and that the rich and full-orbed character which they foster is the best product of civilization. The war, directly or indirectly, increased the stipends of the college teacher. But this result was of no worth in comparison with the ennobled self-confidence, always humble and seldom arrogant, which the American university and college came to possess.

A further effect concerns the permanent condition

of the humanities as a subject of study. It is the social humanities which have become more securely established in the academic curriculum. The antique humanities have suffered a constant elimination. The natural and physical sciences, despite the high and useful function they filled in the war, have not gained in subsequent popularity or influence. The philosophical and psychological courses, notwithstanding the value of psychology in the waging of the war and in removing certain resulting distress, have likewise not secured a more commanding following. But the studies, called social, dealing with men in relation to each other,—history, economics, government, political science, sociology,—have been lifted to places higher and broader in the academic order. The students elected, and still elect, such courses more fully; and to teachers of such courses students were, and are, inclined to pay a more loyal loyalty. The reason is not far to seek. In the war men learned that the relations of men to each other are the chief relations. If men are enemies, enemies should be intelligently understood. Opposing points of view should be examined, and the grounds of antagonism carefully weighed. If men are friends and co-workers,—political, commercial, industrial,—their mutual rights and duties, activities and conditions, should be recognized and considered. At all events,

men are citizens, and all relations to one's nation are of compelling significance. Moreover, each nation bears relationships to other nations, and therefore the facts of international history, the doctrine of exchanges, financial and of commodities, diplomatic and consular arrangements and adjustments, are all quickening influences upon the academic mind. The student vision, therefore, has come to see beyond the college walls, even if one stands on their top. The students have come to feel the world's throbs and interests, and these interests influence them to select those subjects of study which touch, more and most directly, upon those interests.

Of course, such directness of topic and immediacy of method involve a certain intellectual loss. The loss is a lessened sense of intellectual relationships. The loss means a thinner background, a shallower reflectiveness, a narrower perspective and outlook. The loss is a loss in culture, in appreciation of general values, in depths and richness of thinking and feeling. But, along with the loss runs a gain, a gain in directness and in efficiency, in pursuit of ends, an efficiency which, in a world of service and in a lifetime whose working period is so brief, is of unspeakable preciousness.

I also believe that the war gave to the university student and teacher a deeper desire to use his learn-

ing and his lecturing for the public welfare. A stronger and deeper altruistic note was heard in the academic song. Of course universities have always been devoted to the service of their nations, be the government of a particular nation monarchical or democratic. In the Middle Ages, kings found their ministers of state and their diplomats among the university-trained graduates. The newer democratic communities have usually called to their offices,—legislative, executive, judicial,—men of academic training. The modern record is of a significance even more commanding than the mediæval. The American student and teacher, therefore, have become impressed in a peculiar way with the duty they owe to the mind and the movements of their own generation outside of academic gateways. The obligation of the stronger to help the weaker, the value of unity of thought, of feeling, of action, the appreciation of individual and corporate sympathy, the worth of loyalty to great ideas, the missionary motive as applied to intellectual forces, have become common sentiments of mighty motive and movement. The student assents to the truth of Huxley's remark, "So far as we possess the power of bettering things, it is our permanent duty to use it, and to train all our intellect and energy for this supreme service to our kind."

Institutions change slowly. That mediæval and

modern institution, the university, with the church, is the most conservative of all the great foundations made by the mind of man. The students of the twentieth century in the American institution are singularly akin to the students of the fifteenth century in Oxford and Leipsic. But, although changing slowly, and by slight degrees, the academic mind does change. The results I have noted are already beginning to affect the body of the students and the movements of academic life. It now seems probable that these results will endure among the students of many following generations.

XVI

ACADEMIC MEMORIALS

In the funeral oration which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles, at the close of the first year of the Peloponnesian war, the great statesman and orator says:

“For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men.”¹

The sentiments expressed in Greece, twenty-three hundred years and more ago, are felt likewise in America in the year 1920. The whole earth is filled with memorials of our college boys. But, in addition, it is fitting, natural, and almost commanding to the soul, that individual memorials be raised.

Commemorative accounts, events, tokens, tablets, medals, foundations, buildings are a normal and natural consequence of noble achievements. The founding of a memorial in recognition of great deeds is almost instinctive to man. The desire seems to belong

¹ Thucydides' History, Jowett's translation, I. 133.

to the early impulses of the race, as is witnessed in the cairns on the lonely mountain peak where a hero did a brave deed. Civilization has not eliminated this primitive instinct, but has rather seemed to augment and to discipline it.

An academic memorial, like every other, should appeal to the sense of idealism in humanity. It should touch the imagination, move the sense of the poetic, and incarnate in the visible and the tangible the highest aspirations of the human spirit. It should create a certain solidity of thrilling impulses, which it should elevate and broaden and deepen. Every noble feeling should be stirred by its vision or recollection. It should be a permanent festival of the dead. It should with ever increasing force appeal to the eternal and the universal in the human soul. In it the elements of a materialistic utility should be given little or no place. It may help man to do his daily work more thoroughly, to bear his anxiety more calmly, to fulfill life's functions more completely. But these results it wins by its appeal to the highest and the lordliest and the divine in his being. A worthy memorial is still the sky and the star and the far-off sun in man's character and life. It is still the token, the evidence, the proof of the eternally free spirit in man as the child of the universal and the everlasting.

Such should be the characteristics of every memorial. In particular a college memorial should possess them in fullest degree. For it is for such ideals that the college youth died. These ideals are the highest. They embody not simply a national purpose, but rather one international, and not simply an international one, but rather that power which underlies humanity, Divinity.

Memorials have, for more than two thousand years, taken on a great variety of forms. Pericles rebuilt parts of Athens as a memorial of the Persian Wars. The city of Alexandria forever commemorates a world-conqueror. St. Sophia, Constantinople, still stands a token of the victory of the cross. Throughout the Middle Ages abbeys were founded as memorials, and likewise in the Renaissance period, colleges and schools. Within the last hundred years, Waterloo Bridge and the Nelson Column of London bear their own commemorative purpose.

Among other great memorials in material form are the Taj Mahal, the Arch of Triumph in Paris, Trajan's Arch, the Victor Emmanuel pile in Rome, the Washington Monument on the banks of the Potomac, and the Robert Gould Shaw tablet on Boston Common. Similar forms in marble or stone or bronze, college memorials might fittingly assume. Of these memorials the Robert Gould Shaw bronze has the

dearest meaning to the heart of the college youth. It is in a sense a college emblem. If only such a tablet could be set up on every college campus! But a like memorial, though of quite unlike esthetic conception or execution, might have a quickening meaning. For throughout the villages of many an American state, on common, or on public square is erected a simple figure in granite of the American soldier of the Civil War. His clothes do not fit him. The expression of his face is stolid. His poise is neither civil nor military. On the foundation stone or on the sides of the column are cut his name and the names of his fallen comrades. Gettysburg, Antietam, Fredericksburg are also inscribed. Despite its lacks and incongruities, it is always moving to the mind and the heart of the beholder. Such a figure set up in bronze or marble in college halls or on college grounds is a fitting memorial.

Buildings may also form a memorial likewise fitting. But in academic buildings imagination should ever be given full freedom. To the college men fallen in the Civil War are erected several memorials of this type. Conspicuous among them are the Memorial Hall at Chapel Hill, of the University of North Carolina, the Memorial Hall at Bowdoin, and the memorial part of a great hall at Harvard. Buildings are sure to be built in scores of colleges, com-

memorative of the men fallen in the Great War.

Gateways form also a most fitting type. They largely eliminate by their very condition, the element of materialistic utility. Already several college classes have considered the building of such a memorial to their unreturning members and in appreciation of the service of all of their members.

Three outstanding athletic captains of Yale lost their lives in the war. It has been proposed to associate their names with the Bowl, and other athletic structures. Such association is more fitting than a superficial interpretation might suggest. For the men, trained in the academic sports, through that very training, were made more efficient in the war. Discipline, intellectual and ethical, power of initiative, team-work, are the qualities alike valuable in the sports, in the service and in life.

But beyond and above such physical forms, commemorative foundations in gifts of funds or of libraries have peculiar significance. Professorships, scholarships, lectureships, each devoted to the purposes held dear by those who died, are fitting. They touch the imagination. They serve by their teaching to elevate the mind, to purify the heart, to give a sense of grandeur and sublimity to man's highest choices. They also endure, as the college itself is among the most enduring of the creations of man.

Buildings may crumble and must, but the immaterial foundation standeth sure. Already such memorial foundations are being laid.

A Harvard man, of the class of 1919, who was mortally wounded in 1918, has been commemorated by a scholarship founded by his family in Trinity College, Cambridge, which is to be held by an American student nominated by the President and Fellows of Harvard. A scholarship also in his honor has been established at Harvard which is to be awarded to a student from France. Another father has given a scholarship in memory of his son, William H. Meeker, of the class of 1917 of Harvard, killed in France, and has also given his son's library to the Harvard Crimson. The gift of the library is carrying out one of the last wishes of the boy, that if anything should happen to him while in France, his library should be given to the college in which he had been enrolled. The University of Toronto has raised a large sum for commemorative scholarships. Princeton has already founded ten such scholarships. Similar memorials have been established in other colleges and will continue to be founded for the next decade.

Beneath the material form and the immaterial of memorials may lie certain natural associations. A row or a group of trees illustrates and embodies such

a commemoration. New Hampshire College at Durham has planted a grove of trees in honor of eighteen of her graduates who fell.

Many memorials, as these paragraphs intimate, have been established by the parents of the dead student soldiers. Their foundation will yet go on for generations. Be it said that the mothers and fathers have borne, and still bear, and will continue to bear, their griefs with a sense of bravery equal to that of their fallen sons. They have learned the lesson which Professor Poulton, of Oxford, learned in the death of his son, Ronald, that "to be weakened by grief is the poorest tribute to our dear ones, and that it might be so is the thought that would have pained them most. 'At the time of Ronald's death I was numb with despair until, in a few days, this thought arose in my mind, and since then the comfort of it has never failed me; if any there be who have not yet found it, I am sure it will never fail them.'"¹

A distinct form of memorial for the living, as well as for the dead, was created by Williams College. It consisted of what is known as "The Williams Medal." The obverse of the bronze shows "a line of steel-helmeted doughboys, rifles in hand, with bayonets fixed, about to go over the top." The reverse is an imaginary portrait of the founder of the college,

¹ *The British Weekly*, December 25, 1919.

Colonel Ephraim Williams, on horseback, wearing the uniform of a continental officer. The legend, "For humanity 1918," appears on the obverse side, and the legend, "E Liberalitate E Williams Armigeri 1793," is on the upper circumference of the reverse. Wesleyan University and Union have also given similar tokens to their sons.

These and other forms, college memorials are to take on in the next years. Whatever special shape they assume they will embody the spirit which stirred the soul of the soldier student who went forth prepared to die. The spirit has been movingly set forth in many a poem and noble paragraph. But in no verse written by college man for college man has the spirit been more fittingly embodied than the verses which Lieutenant White wrote of his Bowdoin friend, Forbes Rickard, Jr., who was killed in action in the summer of 1918.

"For firelight, and true books and candle-glow,
And dear imagination that can find
Behind the present and the passing hour
The plan of One who has the will to grow
Upon the frailest stock, the fairest flower —
And let it wither in a wintry wind;

"For that warm friendliness of soul's embrace
When man meets man and knows him for a friend;
For all the little signs which must betray
Man's loyalty to love — for all the grace

Of Beauty which adorned his dawning day.
He battled with clean heart until the end.

“For these he fought — for love of life he died,
A willing sacrifice to that High Faith
Which bade him gird the young man’s armor on
And fling the shining truth at those who lied —
Boasting that Power was Right — that that new dawn
Which reddened in the sky was but a wraith.

“He is a part of all he fought to save —
And he has lent his soul to every breeze
That cools the brow of Vision — seeing folk,
And passing, sings of Hope, ‘Be strong, be brave,
The new day dawns behind the tyrant’s cloak —
Lo, Freedom rises from the misty seas!’”¹

¹ Poem by Lieutenant H. S. White, A. E. F., as a tribute to Forbes Rickard, Jr., killed in action July, 1918.

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